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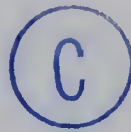
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FACTORS OF SOCIAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL DYNAMICS
IN THE COMMUNAL SETTLEMENTS OF
HUTTERITES 1527-1967

by



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A THESIS

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Factors of Social Change and Social Dynamics in the Communal Settlements of Hutterites 1527-1967" submitted by Karl Andreas Peter in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

ABSTRACT

The analysis contained in this dissertation is concerned with the structural fluctuations of the Hutterite socio-cultural system during the last 440 years.

It approaches the problem through a theoretical framework of social change and social dynamics developed mainly from contributions made by Pitirim A. Sorokin and Ludwig von Bertalanffy. This theoretical framework is tentatively summarized in General Systems principles and processes.

Methodologically a multi-variable analysis is applied to the data relevant for the various structural phases of the Hutterite socio-cultural system.

By relating selected social variables to each other as well as to the development of the whole socio-cultural system, the various structural phases of the sect can be comprehended through the discovery of dynamic processes of development.

Propositions regarding social change and social dynamics are drawn from the comparison of dynamic processes and are suggested as tentative statements contributing to a theory of social change.

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CHAPTER I

The Problem

Introduction

The sociological importance of the religious sects of the Reformation and their effects on trends in Western civilization has long been noted in various fields of research. Max Weber,¹ Karl Mannheim,² Richard Niebuhr,³ Ernst Troeltsch,⁴ and Wilhelm Dilthey,⁵ to mention only the most important, were greatly concerned with this problem.

The gigantic social upheaval and the period of rapid social change following the Reformation initiated a social atmosphere during which many social experiments were made. Some of these experiments solidified into sects which have been shown to possess a remarkable durability and great survival value. Among the groups that have survived in relative isolation are the Mennonites, the Amish and the Hutterites.

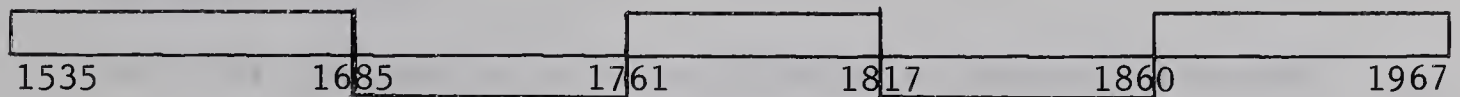
Because of their visible systemic attributes many sociologists have used these groups as research laboratories.⁶ Their studies have contributed to the fields of social and cultural organization, social theory, social dynamics, social psychology and the theory and sociology of knowledge.

The Problem Defined

This study is concerned with one of the groups that has survived - the Hutterites. Historical data regarding the Hutterite sect show that this social and cultural system has moved through five social

phases during the 430 years of existence.⁷ A graphic presentation of these phases displays the following pattern:⁸

Time periods during which the Hutterite social system
was structured by the "community of goods."



Time periods during which the Hutterite social system
was not structured by the "community of goods."

Figure 1.-- THE PHASING OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEM OF HUTTERITES

(The areas above and below the line denote the respective presence or absence of the "community of goods.")

Throughout their history Hutterites maintained in their scattered settlements social systems of a Gemeinschaft-type. They never tried to form social structures beyond Gemeinschaft relations. The two forms which the Gemeinschaft took among Hutterites was the "community of goods" and the "community of love." The historical data indicate that these two structures fluctuated. In its first phase, which lasted for about 150 years, the community of goods dominated the Hutterite Gemeinschaft. For the next 85 years the community of goods was replaced by the community of love. In the year 1761 the community of goods was revived, lasting for only 56 years. From 1819 to 1860 the community of goods was again absent and was revived again in 1860, lasting up to the present time.

These preliminary observations on the fluctuations of the

Hutterite social system point to some recurrent social processes.

One may ask, for example, the following questions:

- 1.) What social factors caused the phasing of the Hutterite social system?
 - a.) Is the phasing to be attributed to external factors?
 - b.) Can the phasing be attributed to internal factors?
 - c.) Is the phasing the result of internal and external factors?
 - d.) What is the operative mechanism of any possible type or number of factors?
- 2.) What factors caused the rejuvenation of the social systems in 1761 and 1860?
 - a.) Were these factors at the respective times the same or were different factors at work?
- 3.) Why did it take the system 150 years to go through the first social phase and only 56 years to go through the second? (Both phases being characterized by the community of goods.)

This study proposes to investigate the phasing of the Hutterite social system, its nature and conditions. It proposes to uncover and to elaborate on these processes through a meaningful-functional-causal analysis of the social system in question.

It attempts to assess these findings critically in terms of contemporary theories of social and cultural change and social and cultural integration. Implications for sociological theory will be drawn.

The Nature and Scope of the Study

This paper proposes to analyze processes of change and social dynamics within the Hutterite sect over the time span of four hundred and thirty years.

This task seems to be enormous and somewhat out of proportion in regard to the presently available and presently used techniques of sociological analysis.

To reduce the study to manageable proportions the theoretical and empirical approaches intended to be followed here need to be clarified.

Empirically the study will be conducted on the level of a socio-cultural system. This statement implies that the unit of analysis is the Hutterite sect as a whole, regardless what size this group attained during various historical periods.

To study the whole of the Hutterite socio-cultural system implies further that the data that are being used in this study refer to the system as a whole. The various indicators which are introduced at a later time do not refer to a particular Hutterite settlement but characterize the whole of the socio-cultural system. Such indicators as "religious-ideological creativity", for example, evaluate the various forms of creativity within the sect by taking into account all productions which the sect as a whole created.

There can hardly be any serious objection to the view taken here, which defines the Hutterite sect as a socio-cultural system.

Throughout its history the sect to a greater or lesser degree was isolated from the main society from which it parted as a social movement. It had a life span of many successive generations. It never fully disintegrated culturally, ideologically or institutionally. It always had clear, distinguishable boundaries, setting it off from the rest of its various host societies, and finally it followed a developmental sequence clearly and distinguishably different from other sects of the Reformation.

The best supporting argument for our contention, however, is the cultural and social completeness of the group. The Hutterite sect throughout its history provided a complete life cycle for individuals born into the sect. While in social and cultural contacts with other groups and societies, it provided a complete and complex cultural and social life for its individuals, such that, if the individual so had chosen, he was under no necessity to contact an external group for his physical, social and psychological existence.

This view of the Hutterite sect as a socio-cultural system satisfies the definition which Sorokin offers for a socio-cultural system.⁹

Clearly the Hutterite sect throughout its history possessed:

- a.) an integrated body of ideas, values and norms
- b.) had objectified these ideas, values and norms in distinct vehicles (social structures)
- c.) managed to socialize its members such that they accepted the values, ideas and norms as well as

the vehicles in which these were expressed. Theoretically the study will be conducted along the lines of "General Systems Theory". There is, as yet, no clear and definite body of postulates and propositions outlining what actually is meant by the concept of General Systems Theory.

Consequently an attempt will be made to put together the various propositions making up the main principles and processes of General Systems Theory.

In order to tie the "empirical" to the "theoretical" approaches the following steps are being taken:

- 1.) From a preliminary knowledge of the empirical problem certain demands as to the nature of the theoretical model to be used in this study will be made.
- 2.) Propositions and postulates forming part of General Systems Theory will systematically and logically be put together such that the analytical demands made under 1.) finally will be met.
- 3.) In the process of the systematic development of propositions and postulates the master hypotheses of this study will be generated.

Analytical Demands Regarding a Model of Analysis

The model suitable for the analysis of the Hutterite socio-cultural system should be dynamic rather than static. The time factor involved in the study, four hundred and thirty years in all, makes it

imperative to look for changes in time rather than concentrating on static features.

Furthermore, a model of analysis should pay attention to on-going processes within the socio-cultural system as well as paying attention to the forces that impose on the system from the outside.

Assuming that the initial observations regarding the phasing of the Hutterite socio-cultural system are correct, some preliminary speculations in regard to the nature of these processes may be made.

It was mentioned that the Hutterite socio-cultural group throughout its history lived in relative cultural isolation from its environment. Although there existed numerous cultural contacts between the Hutterite group and the societies in which it lived, these contacts, nevertheless, were confined to a selected number of social characteristics. It is reasonable to assume that the phasing of the socio-cultural system, in all probability, had some of its "causes" in the system itself. In other words, there is a strong probability that the socio-cultural system of the Hutterites displayed some self-regulating features. Taking the relative isolation of the group throughout its history into account; considering further that the Hutterite system underwent the above mentioned phases in totally different socio-cultural external environments (due to migration); and taking into account further that the phasing of the system took place three times within the history of the sect, it becomes highly improbable that the dynamic forces that "caused" the Hutterite socio-cultural system to change as it did, entirely came from the outside.

Consequently, an analytical model must pay adequate attention to the dynamics within a social system, without neglecting or minimizing the social factors external to a system. In fact, the analytical model should be able to discriminate between these two types of factors.

There is another demand to which some attention must be paid. It was stated earlier that Hutterites discontinued the community of goods around 1685 and picked it up again around 1761. There is a time lapse of seventy six years between the disintegration of one social structure and its rejuvenation. (The same process took place between 1817 and 1860.)

Social change is usually seen as a process moving forward and creating new forms of social relations. Hutterites obviously rejuvenated twice older social relations and old social structures which at times were discontinued.

Why should such a process take place? More than three generations had passed between 1685 and 1761. At least two generations had passed between 1817 and 1860. Yet at both times the old social structures were revived. (To say old structures, of course, does not mean the same structures. The revival of the old structures took place in entirely different external and internal environments.)

An appropriate analytical model must at least be able to explain some of the factors involved in this backward-oriented process.

Summarizing the analytical demands with respect to an appropriate model, we are looking for a model that:

a.) is dynamic rather than static

- b.) is suitable for an analysis over time
- c.) discriminates between processes within a socio-cultural system and those external to a system
- d.) is able to explain why the Hutterite socio-cultural system consistently recreated and re-instituted old social relations.

Toward a General Systems Model

An attempt to establish a new and perhaps better model of sociological analysis should logically proceed from the knowledge of those models that exist at the present time. It is the strength and the weaknesses of the present modes of analysis which can give guidance and direction for the future. Although an exhaustive review of sociological models is beyond the scope of this paper, a critical evaluation of the most widespread and most commonly accepted analytical model, the mechanical one, might provide a useful starting point for further inquiry.

The Mechanical Model of Sociological Analysis

The most simple components of a model are its elements and the relations that seem to pertain between these elements. Relations between elements most often come under the label of "causality".

MacIver in "Social Causation" says:

Causal knowledge is always inferential, never immediate. The causal nexus, like every relationship between data, is not itself a datum. It can never be vindicated by perception or by any of the devices that come to the aid of perception.

The assertion of any relationship, no matter how simple or obvious, involves the appeal to reason, and its establishment is a scientific construction.¹⁰

Similar to MacIver's statement is the basic idea of Kant's philosophy of cognition. Kant maintains that our minds are living actively operative organisms, drawing their material for their functioning from without through the senses and through experience, but shaping this substance autonomously according to their own laws and hence forming cognitions themselves. The understanding is the well-spring of the laws of nature but the understanding does not derive the laws from nature, but prescribes them to nature. We cannot know, and can never know, the nature of the world in itself. We only see the universe the way we have it organized in our minds.

If the notion of causation is a mental construction which attempts to bring order or organization into a conglomerate of observable data, the task of the scientist then is to construct mentally, propositions which most appropriately, and verified by observation, create order in the physical, organic and socio-cultural world. The notion of "cause" is one attempt of ordering things. The question is: Is it the only one or perhaps the best one? Bertrand Russell maintains that causal laws are really only applicable to a completely isolated system. But most socio-cultural systems are neither completely isolated nor closed.

The first and, until recently, most important causal construct in sociology is contained in the classical, mechanical model. Although

the idea of mechanical causation is present in the philosophical frameworks of Thales, Leucippus, Democritus, Anaxagoras and Lucretius, it became emphasized with the pioneering work of Newton, Galileo, Copernicus, Descartes, Leibnitz, Kepler, Bacon and Boyle during the 17th century.¹¹ Sorokin writes:

The extraordinary progress of physics, mechanics and mathematics during this century called forth an extraordinary effort to interpret social phenomena in the same way that mechanics had so successfully interpreted physical phenomena. As a result, we have "Social Physics" of the 17th century, which at least in its plan and aspirations has not been surpassed by all the mechanistic theories of the 19th and 20th centuries.¹²

Sorokin reviews four branches of sociological model building all based on mechanical concepts. He outlines the branches of social physics (Carey); of social dynamics (Barcelo, Haret, Lotka); the social energetics (E. Solvay, W. Bechtereff, W. Oswald, T.N. Carver, L. Winiarsky); and finally of mathematical-functional "pure sociology" (Pareto, Carli).

Walter Buckley, commenting on Sorokin's analysis of the mechanistic orientation of these sociologists, says:¹³

Their systems were built on such concepts as "field force", "transformation of energy" and "social entropy". Most of them gave only a series of superficial analogies, based on invalid interpretations of mechanical concepts.

He writes further:

The "rational mechanics" of Pareto, a trained engineer, however, is in a different class. He avoided the more specious analogizing and utilized only the more general mechanical

principles that seemed to apply to social phenomena on the methodological or heuristic level. Thus we have at the base the concept of "system" of elements in mutual interrelations, which may be in a state of "equilibrium", such that any moderate changes in the elements or their interrelations away from the equilibrium position are counterbalanced by changes tending to restore it.¹⁴

He asserts further:

It is this conception that has been taken over almost unchanged by many contemporary sociologists, notably George C. Homans and Talcott Parsons (both influenced by Henderson at Harvard).¹⁵

Buckley, however, qualifies this statement in the following way:

Before them (Homans and Parsons. Our remark) and after Pareto the idea of society as a "system" of interrelated parts with a boundary, and usually tending to maintain an equilibrium, was explicitly entertained by N. Bukharin, P. Sorokin, F. Znaniecki and K. Lewin among others.¹⁶

Central to the mechanical model building in sociology, is the concept of equilibrium. Parsons, Bales and Shils in 1953 suggested four fundamental generalizations for defining the "equilibrium of a social system in terms of four dimensional space."¹⁷

These four generalizations include:

- 1.) The principle of inertia:
A given process of action will continue unchanged in rate and direction unless impeded or deflected by opposite motivational forces.
- 2.) The principle of action and reaction:
If in a system of action there is a change in the direction of a process, it will be balanced by a complimentary change which is equal in motivational force and opposite in direction.

- 3.) The principle of effort:
Any change in the rate of an action process is directly proportional to the magnitude of the motivational force applied or withdrawn.
- 4.) The principle of system integration:
Any pattern element (mode of organization of components) within a system of action will tend to be confirmed in its place within the system or to be eliminated from the system (extinguished) as a function of its contribution to the integrated balance of the system.¹⁸

Parsons refers to these principles in the following terms:

This is essentially what is meant by the statement of the "laws" of a system, namely certain fundamental generalizations about the nature of the equilibrating processes such that it is possible by applying them, to deduce the nature and directions of the changes which will take place in a system following what we have called above a disturbance of its equilibrium assuming that the system does, indeed, regain its equilibrium.¹⁹

Outlining the similarities of his "laws of a social system" with classical mechanics Parsons remarks:

If all this, which frankly involves a speculative element at present, is correct, then it would seem likely that there is a very important analogy between the scheme we have developed in this paper and the classical mechanics. If this supposition stands up to critical testing of a variety of sorts, it is evident that it should turn out to have far reaching implications in that it should open up possibilities of quantitative as well as qualitative systematization which are far beyond those which the sciences of action have yet attained.²⁰

Pitirim Sorokin has criticized the central concept of equilibrium of Parson's system of action. He points out that the term

equilibrium can be used in at least five different ways. In the first, equilibrium can designate a state of rest.²¹

Every motion under resistance is continually suffering deductions and these increasing deductions finally result in the cessation of motion.²²

Secondly, equilibrium can be interpreted as a momentary state of rest when two opposite sets of forces mutually counterbalance one another or mutually annul one another. Sorokin points out that if such a state is momentary or according to some theories it is never achieved by a system, then the working applicability of this concept becomes either very limited or if it is never attained its applicability becomes zero.²³

If the concept of equilibrium refers to mutual limitations or inhibitions between two or more social organs, functions, agencies or forces, the term equilibrium becomes a liability. A direct study of the real and immanent generation of inhibitory forces would probably be more fruitful than the use of a mechanical analogy which does not reflect the empirical phenomena.²⁴

If equilibrium is identified with such terms as "adaptation", "adjustment", "maximum utility", "normality", "harmony", "usefulness", "fitness", "effectiveness", "survival", and other normative and evaluative notions, the concept becomes empty of meaning because it cannot possibly cover all these different notions and terms. In the scientific sense the term becomes useless.²⁵

If the concept of equilibrium is identified with a tendency of

a social system when disturbed to return to its previous status or to hold its normal trend or level, other problems arise. Although Sorokin regards this concept of equilibrium in the social sciences the most important, the clearest and the most sound, he nevertheless points out that no socio-cultural system ever returns to its previous state after being disturbed. Prosperity might return after a period of poverty, however, the newly reached prosperity does in no way resemble the original state of prosperity. Too many changes within a socio-cultural system have occurred such that a "return" to a state of equilibrium becomes fictitious.²⁶

Talcott Parsons offers still another definition of equilibrium:

Beyond the most general meaning of the concept of equilibrium the meaning which is most directly applicable here is that applying to what we have called a boundary maintaining system.²⁷

Clearly no boundary maintaining system needs to be in equilibrium. The recent disturbances in China demonstrate political and social disequilibrium, but the system as a whole nevertheless maintains its boundaries perfectly. The same is true with respect to almost any political system showing characteristics of conflict or antagonism.

On the other hand an art style or a certain form of philosophy might develop within a given system and yet does not contribute nor detract much from the boundary maintaining mechanism. Under these circumstances could we assume that these patterns of behavior are irrelevant and need not enter into our investigation because they seem

to have no or little effect on the boundary maintaining mechanism?

When in effect are the boundaries of a social system breaking down? With the disappearance of the political or economic organization, with the disappearance of ideologies, or the language, the culture, or what? Unless clear answers are given to these questions the term boundary is highly ambiguous and hardly suitable as a definition for equilibrium. It seems that one ambiguous term here is substituted by another. The boundaries of a social system might expand or detract. Does Parsons mean that only processes that "maintain" boundaries are worthwhile processes to study within a social system while those that "expand" or "detract" the boundaries are left to fall at the wayside?

Of course Parsons does not say this at all. The problem is that what he eventually says about these processes is not in agreement with his fundamental position on equilibrium.

Another and more important assumption of the mechanical aspects of equilibrium is that the forces that disturb an equilibrium have to be external to the system. Every change within a system is seen as being produced by some existing forces outside the system itself. The system cannot actively generate any forces for its own change and disturbance. It is seen as a passive entity depending on energetic forces from the outside.

Sorokin writes on this point:

This externalistic standpoint, so typical of the whole contemporary mentality, is perfectly correct in application to the material system of mechanics.

But it is grossly incorrect in application to the organic and especially the socio-cultural systems. As we have seen, change and disturbance is an immanent trait of these systems, as long as they function, even in an unchangeable or absolutely constant external milieu.²⁸

Sorokin puts his finger on the crucial difference between mechanical and social cultural systems. While mechanical systems need some disturbing force acting from the outside, socio-cultural systems by their very nature are active living systems having self-regulating features which produce change regardless of the external environment into which these systems are placed. (This statement does not imply that the internal dynamics of a socio-cultural system are by necessity always independent of external forces. A detailed discussion of this topic follows at a later point.)

Talcott Parsons, while trying to derive a model of social change with the aid of his notion of equilibrating forces, nevertheless makes the following statement:

...Positively institutionalized sources of change are particularly prominent in some social systems. The most prominent type of case seems to be the institutionalized commitment to a cultural configuration, in Kroeber's sense, so that there is an endogenous process of development of the possibilities of the configuration.²⁹

Referring to Weber's hypothesis regarding the trend toward increased rationality in Western Society, Parsons says:

Here there seems to be no doubt that there is an inherent factor of the directionality of change in social systems, a directionality which was classically formulated by Max Weber in what he called the process of rationalization.³⁰

Walter Buckley, commenting on the contradiction which the postulated processes toward a state of equilibrium and the postulated endogenous processes of change within the same social system necessarily create, writes:

Thus Parsons argues correctly that to study social change we need some reference point from which change occurs. He then turns to both an assessment of the given structure at the starting point of analysis and an appeal to the "equilibrium" and "inertia" concepts. But it is not at all clear why an assessment of the structural and dynamic state at the start does not alone suffice as a reference point, without introducing "equilibrium" and "inertia". Furthermore, when Parsons goes on to admit change-forces endogenous to the system, we part company with anything recognizable to the student of classical mechanics. As others have noted, to say that internal system-forces tend toward equilibrium but in fact may lead to change is a contradiction in terms.³¹

Buckley sums up his investigation of mechanical models in sociology in the following words:

In sum, it becomes increasingly clear that mechanical and socio-cultural systems are very different types of systems with basically different organizing principles and dynamics. Continued appeal to the former to understand the latter only postpones the search for other more appropriate and useful conceptualizations.³²

Systemic Principles of the Organic World

Mechanical models based on equilibrating processes are insufficient for the analysis of socio-cultural systems from a number of points.

One of the main characteristics of mechanical models is their summative nature. Forces active in or on the assumed mechanical system can be isolated in their discrete quantities and measured with a high

degree of precision. The units of such measurement are additive (or multiplicative). A mathematical formula expressing these relationships between various forces in the mechanical system is precise exactly because the forces entering into the formula have summative characteristics.

The same assumption cannot be made with respect to socio-cultural or organic systems. Only relatively few social forces can be quantified justifiably in the sense in which chemo-physical forces are capable of quantification. Attempts to quantify qualitative social characteristics through methods of scaling have been made. However, Guttman, Lazarsfeld and others write:

A question which is often asked is, "how often do you find scales in practice?" Quite obviously, if the rigid parallelogram pattern required of a scale did not occur empirically, then the theory would have little practicality. There is a real question, then, as to whether scales occur frequently enough to be applicable to the study of social attitudes... The bulk of social phenomena is too complex for one to expect many aspects to be scalable... (During their study of its applicability) it was a much more frequent experience not to find a series of items scalable, (though) there were enough instances of scalable areas to warrant further research.³³

If the quantification of the bulk of social phenomena is at least problematic, the summative or non-summative relationship between quantified variables is even more problematic. Ideally, the chemo-physical sciences attempt to isolate the least divisible unit like atoms or particles. Finding the summative relationships of such particles, the phenomena as a whole can be reassembled by using the

formulas and relationships that hold true between such small particles. The nature of the large phenomenon is the sum of the relationships found in the small phenomenon. In this sense the rotation of the earth around the sun yields to the same quantitative relationship as exists between an electron and a proton.

The question is whether organic and socio-cultural phenomena can be investigated in the same way. One of the convincing results of experimental biology is that tissue cultures which were grown in appropriate nutrients showed an entirely different pattern of behavior compared with the same tissues that were left in a living organism.³⁴

The organic life of living bodies cannot be reassembled by finding the relationship between any two isolated components or elements but by studying the parts in their relation to the whole. This implies further that the various components making up a whole must be studied in relation to each other as well as each others relation to the whole.

Such an approach is essentially non-summative in the sense that the various interacting forces do not respond to each other and to the whole in terms of simple additive or multiplicative formula.

Traditional causal axioms like "whatever happens has a cause", or "like causes, like effects", or "where there is a difference in the effect there is a difference in the cause" are misleading for phenomena of this nature.

It is for this reason that Walter Buckley suggests avoiding

a causal terminology in sociology altogether.³⁵

But there are other difficulties associated with the mechanical model if applied to organic and socio-cultural phenomena.

The point of reference for the mechanical model is the existing structure. Any disturbance of this structure is seen as a deviant type of behavior which must be corrected if the original equilibrium should be re-established in its functional terms.

Parsons model of social systems makes the existing structure and the equilibrating relations within the structure their basic point of departure. Having accepted these assumptions he must, by necessity, refer the ongoing processes in the system to these underlying concrete structural components in a state of equilibrium.

The explanation of ongoing processes in a given social system, then, takes place in terms of the forces and mechanisms which function in relation to a given structure. As we have noted, such forces and mechanisms most often appear under the functional condition of equilibrium. The maintenance of an existing equilibrium, however, implies the maintenance of the existing structure. In other words there is an emphasis on the existing structural aspects of a given system.

The argument as outlined here is, of course, well known and has been used time and time again to criticize Parsons. The difficulties of Parsons to deal with social change are related to his commitment to the maintenance of an existing structure.

To overcome the impass of social statics, after all this paper is concerned with dynamics rather than statics, one must take a new

look at the concept of structure. It seems that Parsons' approach constitutes basically a reification of the notion of structure in the sense that the structure "is" the machine. Such reification of structure, of course, cannot be made in terms of a socio-cultural or organic phenomenon. Von Bertalanffy, in contrast to Parsons, maintains that the problem of life is that of "organization" not structure. He writes:

Thus structure is the first thing the human mind looks for to explain the order of natural processes. An explanation in terms of organizing forces is much more difficult.³⁶

He elaborates:

Observing the inconceivable multiplicity of processes going on in the cell or in the organism in order to maintain its subsistence, only one explanation seemed possible. It is what may be called the machine theory, meaning that the order in vital phenomena was to be interpreted in terms of structures, mechanisms in the widest sense of the word...

Now structural conditions are, to a large extent, present in the living organism. The physiology of organs, for example of organs of nutrition, circulation, secretion, of sense organs as receptors for stimuli, of the nervous system and its connections, and so on, is nothing but a description of the technical masterpiece which confronts us in an organism. In the same way we find structures as mediators of order in every cell from the muscles and nerve fibres, as apparatus for contraction and the conduction of excitation, to the cell organs of secretion and division, the chromosomes as structural units of heredity and so forth.

Nevertheless, we cannot consider structures as the primary basis of the vital order,...

...primarily organic processes are determined by the mutual interaction of the conditions present in the total system by a dynamic order as we may call it.

This is at the basis of organic regulability.

Secondarily, a progressive mechanization takes place, i.e., the originally unitary action segregates into separate actions governed by fixed structures. The

primary nature of dynamics as opposed to a structural or machine-like order is seen in fields as diverse as those of cell structures, embryonic development, secretion, etc.... Organisms are not machines, but they can to a certain extent become machines, congeal into machines. Never completely, however, for a thoroughly mechanized organism would be incapable of regulation following disturbances or of reacting to the incessantly changing condition of the outside world. The fact that organic processes never represent the mere sum of single structurally fixed processes, but to a greater or lesser extent always have the character of a process determined within a dynamic system, gives them adaptability to changing circumstances and regulability following the disturbances.

The comparison of the organism with a machine also leads to the last of the points of view we have mentioned, the one we call the reaction theory... The organism (according to the reaction theory) was considered an essentially passive system set into action only through outside influences, the so-called stimuli.

This "Stimulus-response scheme" has been of fundamental importance especially in the theory of animal behavior. In fact, however, the organism is even under constant external conditions and in the absence of external stimuli not a passive but a basically active system... This viewpoint becomes especially important in considering the activity of the nervous system, irritability and behavior. Modern research has shown that we have to consider autonomous activity as it is manifest, for example, in the rhythmic-automatic functions, as the primary phenomenon rather than reflexes and reactivity. (Emphasis ours.)³⁷

The point of view that dynamic "organization" rather than structures is the basic phenomenon of systems has been reiterated by others. Walter Buckley comes to the same conclusion when he quotes the 18th century physiologist, "de la Mettrie" who suggested a new system of physiology based on the concept of "organization". Faced

with the choice of accepting the presupposition of either an animate or inanimate nature of nature, he rejected both, saying that:

Matter was in itself neither organic nor inorganic, neither living nor dead, neither sensibly nor insensibly. The difference between these states or properties of material things sprang not from the intrinsic natures of their raw material but from the different ways in which these materials were organized.³⁸

The essence of what is meant by "organization" can be illustrated by a relatively simple mechanical example.

One of the theorems of congruency of triangles states that the shape of a triangle is being determined if two sides of such a triangle and one angle within such a triangle stand in a certain relationship to each other, e.g. being organized in a certain way.

Triangles are congruent if they contain the same two sides and the same enclosed angle. The arrangements of the sides in relation to this one angle is what we have called organization. This organization determines the rest of the organized whole of the triangle such that no other shape is possible but one.

Under these "organizational" conditions it is absurd to speak of causality. Neither any of the sides nor any of the angles in a triangle determine the shape of a triangle. Instead of a causal law, we are dealing here with a "relational" or "organizational" law. The relations between these variables of two sides and one particular angle is the crucial factor, not the magnitudes of the variables themselves. More than one triangle having different shapes can be formed with the same two sides and one angle. Although the possibilities of such

different shapes are limited, the example nevertheless illustrates the "organizational" point of view we are trying to make here. It will be appreciated, of course, that such "organization" in a triangle is perceived in a static way leading immediately to the perception of a structure. Organic and socio-cultural systems are not static but dynamic. Unlike the triangle which is a closed system, they are open systems acting and reacting to internal and external influences and exchanging matter or messages with the environment.

That dynamic organization lies at the base of change is being outlined by Sorokin when he elaborates on the role of immanent and externalistic principles of change in contemporary scientific research. He writes:

In a sense any theory that does not deny the reality of empirical change must be and, in fact, is a theory of immanent change in some form and to some degree. The reason for it is that empirically becoming or change cannot be derived either from an unchangeable being or from nothing. That which does not change empirically cannot evidently be the source of change for something else. From empirical nothing can come only empirical nothing, and no change. Therefore the theories of empirical change can derive change only from something that changes immanently from some self starter and from no other source. In this sense they all must be and are in fact immanent theories of change including the externalistic theories.³⁹

Basically Sorokin arrives at the same conclusion as attributed to de la Mettrie and von Bertalanffy quoted above. Immanent change, according to Sorokin, refers to the organization of elements in a system and the ongoing activities of such elements within a system.

Von Bertalanffy summarizes the leading principles of an

organismic conception of systems in the following way:

- 1.) The conception of the system as a whole as opposed to the analytical and summative points of view.
- 2.) The dynamic conception as opposed to the static and machine theoretical conception.
- 3.) The consideration of the organism as a primary activity as opposed to the conception of primary reactivity.⁴⁰

Addressing himself to the mechanical conception of systems he draws the following conclusions:

The mechanistic theory did not approach just the fundamental problems of life.-- order, organization, wholeness, and self-regulation. These remain unsolved by analytical investigation and the attempt to explain them by way of the machine theory, i.e. on the basis of pre-existing structures leads to failure in dealing with basic phenomena and problems.⁴¹

From Organismic to Socio-cultural Systems

In his conception of organismic systems, von Bertalanffy discusses some dynamic processes of organic systems. Among the main processes are those of integration, differentiation, progressive mechanization and centralization. These processes form a logical sequence such that the more complex processes are derived from the more simple ones.

He defines integration in terms of closeness of interaction between various components forming a system. As the forms of interaction between elements become closer (progressive integration), a progressive differentiation of the parts within a system takes place. He writes:

The progressive integration goes hand in hand with the progressive differentiation of the parts which at the same time means specialization, metaphorically spoken of as "Division of Labor". The fundamental activities of metabolism, growth, irritability, reproduction, heredity, and so on are found in the simplest unicellular organism as well as in the highest animals. Whereas, however, in amoeba all these processes are carried through by one and the same system, namely, the protoplasm of its cell, in a higher organism they are distributed among different organs and systems. Specialization alone makes the enhancement and refinement of functions possible; but, on the other hand, it must be paid for.

Progressive differentiation means, at the same time, progressive mechanization, i.e., the splitting of the originally unitary action into a sum of separate individual actions, and thus loss of regulability. When certain parts take over one function more or less exclusively, the ability to regulate, i.e. to take over functions in the event of an emergency, disappears. Hence loss of parts leads to irreparable damage. This principle can be illustrated best by a sociological analog. In the primitive community of savages everyone is farmer, craftsman, soldier, hunter at the same time. Progress in cultural accomplishments is possible only by specialization of the members in a craft. But then, the specialist becomes irreplaceable and he is also much more helpless outside his usual occupation than the primitive individual.⁴²

The importance of differentiation in society has long been noted in sociological research and theory. Modern theories of differentiation are based on such pioneering works done by Toennies⁴³ and Durkheim.⁴⁴ One of the main trends in Western society from a *Gemeinschaft* to a *Gesellschaft* constitutes a process of differentiation. This trend is characterized by the emergence of relatively specialized subsystems of economics, law, politics, etc. Talcott Parsons characterized the processes involved in the following way:

It is a general characteristic of "primitive" societies that the allocation of resources among their structurally significant units is overwhelmingly ascribed...

...the division of labor brings freedom from ascriptive ties regarding the utilization of consumable goods and services and the factors of production themselves.⁴⁵

Changing ascriptive ties in society to other forms means to change the closeness of integration in qualitative and quantitative terms around subsystems. (Or units as Parsons calls it). This process involves also quantitative and qualitative changes on the level of integration between the subsystems and the system as a whole. An example of such a change is given by the relative greater independence of economics from religion in modern society which was unperceivable during the middle ages when religion provided one of the main forces around which societies had organized themselves.

What is of great significance in this discussion, however, is the change of emphasis from structures to dynamic interrelationships between levels of integration, differentiation and progressive mechanization. Rather than taking the division of labor in society as the independent structural variable and trying to ascertain its effect on other social characteristics (e.g. the economic, political, religions, system of law, etc.) as Durkheim basically has done, (Division of Labor) the focus here is on the simultaneous occurrence of systemic processes of differentiation, progressive mechanization, loss of regulability, evaluated all in terms of closeness of integration. Integration in society, on various levels and according to various

degrees, is taken as the master process leading to secondary processes of differentiation, etc.

Von Bertalanffy, paying attention to the dynamics of a system, shows that a system proceeds from the simple to the complex, from the unspecified to the more specified. As this process unfolds, the original independent relations between the elements making up the system change to one of subordination and superordination. Such a process implies that certain elements within a system begin to interact more closely and more frequently. As the interaction process intensifies a differentiation of subsystems from the system of the whole takes place. Basically this differentiation is then characterized by a more intense interaction of elements within subsystems and a lesser degree of interaction of these individual elements with respect to the system as a whole.

A graphic demonstration of this process shows the following:

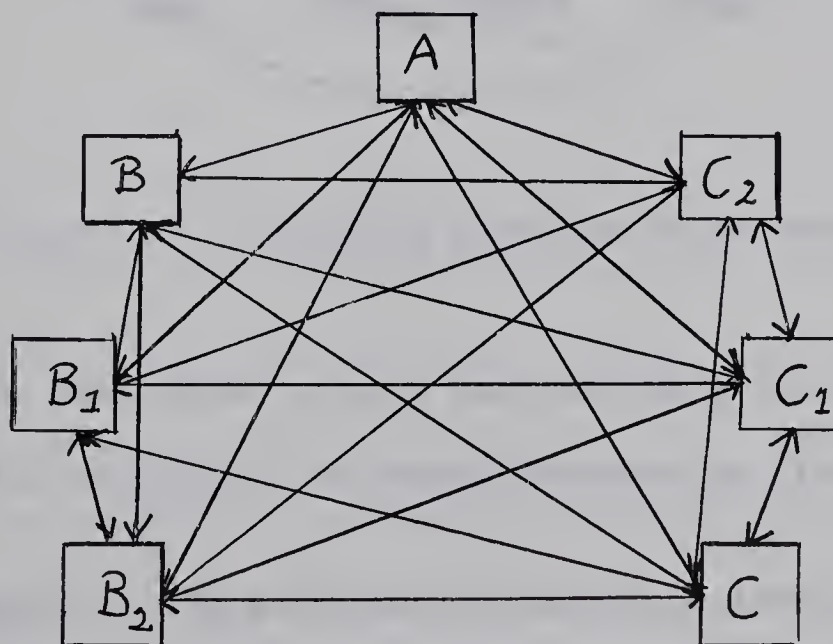


Figure 2.-- UNSPECIFIED NON-DIFFERENTIATED SYSTEM

The characteristics of elements making up an unspecified system of this sort are interchangeability of all unspecified elements among themselves. Unspecified functions between elements means non-selective forms of interaction between elements and equality of closeness of interaction between them.

As the closeness of interaction between certain selected elements increases, a new system emerges which basically takes the following form:

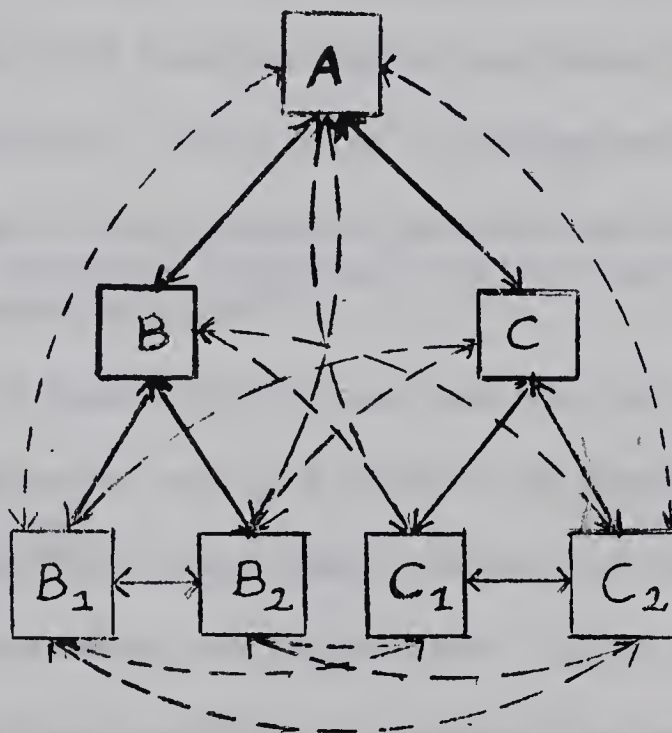


Figure 3.-- SPECIFIED DIFFERENTIATED SYSTEM

—— solid line designates primary interaction (close interaction)
..... dotted line designates secondary interaction (less close interaction)

This system is characterized by different levels of interaction. A, B, and C interact in a primary closeness. So do B, B₁, and B₂, or C, C₁, and C₂. However, the pattern of interaction

between A and B_1 and B_2 , or A and C_1 and C_2 , is less intense than between A, B, and C.

Likewise the closeness of interaction between B_1 , B_2 , and C_1 , C_2 , is less intense than between B, B_1 , and B_2 , or C, C_1 , and C_2 .

This change in the closeness of interaction between elements in effect leads to the differentiation of subsystems. It establishes a more formal structure and it is the emergence of this formal structure having specified functions which von Bertalanffy calls progressive mechanization. The process of mechanization implies the:

splitting of the originally unitary actions into a sum of separate individual actions, and thus a loss of regulability.⁴⁶

While there is loss of regulability in a system that is differentiated, the differentiating process can be a process of adaptation at the same time. Such adaptation takes place through an elaboration of the social structure (Progressive mechanization). While the adaptability of the system to existing conditions increases its survival value for the moment, the inevitable loss of flexibility due to its specialized differentiation reduces the adaptive abilities of the system in the future. Progressive mechanization within a system, then, leads to rigidity. In Durkheim's approach to the division of labor these dynamic systemic properties remain largely hidden. Von Bertalanffy, in contrast, has uncovered these processes as peculiar problems and processes of living organisms, applicable to living and active systems. The simplicity of his schema which explains successive

dynamic systemic features in terms of one characteristic, that of closeness of interaction, satisfies one of the criteria of a good theory - that of parsimony.

Before the next process, that of centralization, can be discussed, a remark on the difference between organismic and social structure needs to be made.

The progressive differentiation and mechanization of organismic systems (the elaboration of the structure) is, of course, largely irreversible in the organic world. An organism that has grown certain organs of a certain complexity can go on to change such organs to more complex ones which can serve different and more specialized functions. Although vestigial structures occur, most of such changes proceed from the more simple to the more complex. The emergent structures are relatively stable and their development is directional. However, an organism cannot do away with all its specific organs and fall back to a uni-cellular form of existence. Some organs might retard or disappear and other equally or more specified ones appear. In regard to social systems such a uni-directional assumption cannot be made. While the notion of progress or cultural development might be associated with an ever increasing complexity, a differentiation of the social structure must be seen as being capable of reversal. Highly differentiated societies and civilizations disintegrated and were seen to fall back into a state of undifferentiation.⁴⁷

Perhaps there are discernable limits in the degree of differentiation which can be tolerated by any particular socio-cultural

system. If the upper limit of differentiation in a socio-cultural system is reached, the system possibly must react to the dis-integrating dangers threatening the system as a whole. In order to avoid fragmentalization of the whole into an uncoordinated aggregate, the system changes its structure to avoid these dangers.

How does a socio-cultural system react to the dangers of fragmentalization? Here we have isolated a crucial difference between organismic and socio-cultural systems. Surely a strong centralization as it develops in an organism is not the only possible answer.

The linear directionality of the organismic world toward constantly higher and more complex structures cannot be transferred toward a socio-cultural system.

Theoretically at least, it is possible to imagine a socio-cultural system which, existing in a state of progressive mechanization followed by progressive fragmentalization between its parts, falls back into a state of former simplicity rather than moving on to greater complexity. It might also be theoretically possible that a society might invent processes which avoid the dangers of progressive mechanization and fragmentalization. Such a socio-cultural system would freeze its social structure so to speak, trading perhaps cultural progress which must be given up for cultural stability that could be gained.

Applying these systemic possibilities to the original problem observed in the socio-cultural system of the Hutterite sect, it can be

speculated that the observed phasing of the Hutterite social structure constitutes a phasing between progressive differentiation and fragmentalization of a socio-cultural system on the one hand and the recovery phases of progressive simplification and unification on the other hand.

According to this reasoning, phase 1 and 3 in the development of the Hutterite socio-cultural systems were processes of differentiation followed by fragmentalization. Phases 2 and 4 were recovery processes of simplification and unification.

To be a little more specific about these processes, phase 1 and 2 of Hutterite socio-cultural existence refers to processes in a social system where the actions of individuals in the system physically, mentally and socially became intensified around subunits of the system. This mental, physical and social intensification around subsystems led to a lessening of the integration of the individual into the whole. The progressive mechanization of the social structure created a progressive loss of regulability, loss of adaptability and loss of self-determination of the socio-cultural system as a whole. Forces of progressive mechanization in the socio-cultural system of Hutterites can be seen empirically as patterns of privileges centred around economic structures, patterns of thought and action which became fragmentalized in the system and progressively isolated from the main cultural theme of the system as a whole. Progressive disintegration of the system as a whole followed when the integration of the individual around subsystems became so extensive that it exceeded the integration of the individual into the

whole of the system.

During the recovery processes some crucial progressively mechanized social structures were eliminated. With their elimination, patterns of privileges which were exploitative in regard to the system as a whole were eliminated also. Progressively the individuals involved became re-oriented toward the cultural whole again simply because the distracting subsystems did not exist any longer. This interplay of subsystems within a system of the whole in the case of the Hutterite socio-cultural system refers basically to integrative processes around religious concepts applicable to the whole of the socio-cultural system and economic processes standing for the subsystems.

The term "religious" is being used in this context to designate a "Weltanschauung". In this sense the term contains but transcends at the same time a narrow definition with particular religious ideas, dogmas or rituals. It refers to a philosophy of life characteristic of a particular socio-cultural system.

The economic subsystem is seen as containing integrative factors of its own. Such integrative factors are occupational attachments and orientations, economic roles, sets of privileges, customs, statuses and rights which the individual in the system acquired in his capacity as participant in the economic system. A more detailed definition will be given later.

Surely recovery processes as postulated in this discussion signify a precarious stage in the development of any socio-cultural

system. One might ask: Why didn't the system disintegrate altogether? What subsystems can be eliminated with what kinds of results? What are the costs of eliminating one or the other set of subsystems? How does the elimination of any subsystem affect the system as a whole? How strong must the system as a whole be in order to survive a partial vivisection of its own social structure? What are the gains and what are the losses?

These questions can only be answered through empirical research. In this paper an attempt will be made to answer some of these questions for a particular socio-cultural system -- that of the Hutterites. The main concern, however, is with the process as such. "Do recovery processes of the postulated nature occur?

Moreover, it was indicated in the foregoing discussion that a socio-cultural system might freeze its social structure so as to avoid further differentiation. It is a further hypothesis of this paper that such avoidance of differentiation and progressive mechanization in a socio-cultural system is characteristic of phase 5 of Hutterite socio-cultural development.

Having reacted to the disintegrative forces of differentiation which occurred twice in the socio-cultural system, the sect finally settled with a social structure which does not allow for a further differentiation. This implies that the culture had to confine itself toward some specific cultural activities and withdrew from others. It traded social stability for cultural development. Again a more detailed discussion of this hypothesis will be given later.

Turning again to the dynamic properties of systems as outlined by von Bertalanffy, the notion of "centralization" in systems can now be meaningfully defined.

In regard to organismic structures von Bertalanffy writes:

Moreover with increasing differentiation certain parts gain predominance over others. It is therefore linked with increasing centralization. Thus we find in a more highly developed hierarchy a principle of rank-order and subordination of parts.⁴⁸

A view of the biological organism developing such organs as the brain and the heart links the differentiation of parts inevitably to the centralization and central coordination of functions.

A relevant socio-cultural example could be supplied by an army or industrial organization or bureaucracy developing a chain of command and a hierarchy of authority.

However, unlike the biological organism, the process of centralization in a socio-cultural system is not inevitable. Unless we will fall in the same pitfalls as Parsons did, we must acknowledge that decentralization as well as centralization in socio-cultural systems is possible.

Reform and revolutionary movements in society are processes which logically demonstrate that subsystems within a socio-cultural system might challenge the original centralized unity of the whole. Thus coordination and centralization of subsystems by the whole is one process, but there is also conflicting antagonism and decentralization when subsystems tend toward autonomy and independence.

Which of these processes is dominant under what conditions is a question of empirical verification. It seems to be absurd to assume that the entrepreneur in Western society, seeking profit in all possible ways including that of political influence peddling, has at heart the political unity of the nation. The history of the recent decades demonstrates only too clearly that in the field of profit making, or labor-management relations, etc., the short range immediate group goal is only too frequently preferred to the long range benefit of the nation or the particular socio-cultural system as a whole.

Subordination to centralized authorities in the socio-cultural system is not a normative process but a possible one.

Decentralization, conflict and progressive disintegration of interaction between subunits and the whole are possible forms of systemic processes in regard to socio-cultural systems.

Sorokin touches on this problem when he addresses himself to linear trends in socio-cultural processes.

He declares that a great many socio-cultural processes do, in fact, display linear characteristics. However, these linear trends are limited in time. He says:

There is no slightest doubt that if the time period is not too long, there are millions of socio-cultural processes with a linear trend during such period.⁴⁹

However, Sorokin's empirical research has shown that within the proper time perspective, linear trends turn out to be finite. Art styles

philosophies, systems of scientific principles, discoveries, systems of ethics, forms of social relations, of freedom, forms of government, etc. might for a given time period grow and overwhelm their rivals; but then the direction of the process changes and the ascending trend is replaced by a plateau (arrest) or descending trend. He comes to the conclusion:

...thus in regard to an enormous part of the socio-cultural processes it can reasonably be claimed that all of them have a time limit for their linear trends. Beyond these limits the trends end and are replaced by different, sometimes opposite trends.⁵⁰

A Summary of Systemic Properties and Processes

The concept of system developed so far in this paper includes the following leading principles and processes:

- 1.) The conception of the system as a whole as opposed to the summative point of view.
- 2.) The dynamic conception as opposed to the static and mechanical conception.
- 3.) The conception of the system as containing an element of primary activity, as opposed to the conception of its primary reactivity.

The leading processes outlined are:

- 1.) Variable degrees of closeness of interaction between elements.
- 2.) Differentiation between elements within the system according to the differing closeness of interaction leading to the formation of sub-systems.
- 3.) Progressive mechanization as a result of differentiation leading to structural complexities and rigidity.

- 4.) Centralization within the system leading to relations of subordination and superordination of elements or subsystems and the whole.

This original conception of system leans heavily on the organismic conception as outlined and developed by theoretical biology through the work of von Bertalanffy.

While investigating into the appropriateness of this organismic conception in regard to socio-cultural phenomena, the following modifications were added:

- 1.) The inevitable evolutionary process toward higher and more complex structures cannot be assumed in regard to socio-cultural phenomena. Processes of reversal or arrest seem to be possible.
- 2.) The relative structural rigidity of a biological organism cannot directly be compared with socio-cultural structures. Although socio-cultural systems do have relatively stable structures, these structures are capable of much more rapid change than biological ones. The essential difference is one of degree not of kind. Socio-cultural structures do have a higher degree of freedom in regard to their variability compared with biological structures. This again is a difference in degree only.
- 3.) The process of centralization which perhaps is inevitable in the evolutionary biological process is a possible but not a necessary process in regard to the socio-cultural system. Centralization and decentralization can occur both and can occur side by side at the same time. The problem of centralization in a socio-cultural system is basically the problem of the proportionate integration around subsystems in relation to the proportionate integration into the whole of a socio-cultural system.
- 4.) If in a socio-cultural system the integration around subsystems dominates compared with the integration into the whole of the system, de-

centralization and possibly disintegration of the system becomes a possibility. Such processes might be followed by the creation of a new system.

- 5.) A socio-cultural system under certain conditions might avoid the dangers of differentiation by arresting these processes on a certain level. Such arrest of differentiation takes place at a point where the integration into the whole remains dominant over the integration into subsystems.

Making use of these leading principles and processes the hypotheses of this paper were touched upon shortly by saying that the socio-cultural system of the Hutterite sect apparently went through successive processes of differentiation and simplification of social structures. Similar to a "pulsing" the system differentiated up to a certain point than sharply reacted to the internally developed problems of disintegration by simplifying its structure. This stage of simplicity encouraged a new central integration around the system as a whole, setting the stage to a new process of differentiation.

The confirmation of these hypotheses would give support to those propositions that assume possible dynamics of differentiation and centralization as well as those of simplification and unification.

The Convergence of von Bertalanffy and Sorokin

As we have seen, the principle of primary activity in a socio-cultural system is of crucial importance because it is this concept from which the self-regulation and the dynamics of a system derive. Pitirim Sorokin has contributed to the conceptualization of

this principle in chapter 12 and 13 of his Social and Cultural Dynamics.

He maintains that change in a socio-cultural system can be perceived in three different ways.

- 1.) externalistic
- 2.) immanent
- 3.) as a result of external plus internal factors.

The externalistic explanation of socio-cultural change assumes that factors external to the phenomena under investigation produce some changes within the phenomenon which is seen to be in a state of rest or inertia. Such a view is implicit to any environmentalistic theory of change.

Sorokin writes on this point:

The predominant mode of explanation of change is externalistic. In quantitative and statistical studies, the factor, the independent variable, is in most cases a variable external to the dependent variable. Exceptions certainly exist, and we shall see them, but the dominant procedure is externalistic. This concerns practically all the social and in a considerable degree the biological sciences. Its general manifestation is the triumph of the so-called environmental theory especially in explanations and interpretation of human affairs.⁵¹

Arguing for a conception of immanent change in socio-cultural systems, synonymous with the concept of "primary reactivity" of von Bertalanffy, Sorokin criticizes the externalistic or environmental theory of social change by saying:

If a partisan of an externalistic principle protests saying any such system or organism does not exist in a vacuum but in a certain environment to which it

incessantly reacts and through which therefore it is changed, the answer is that the existence of an environment of a given system is one thing and the imputation to that environment of the whole or the main part of the change of the system is quite another thing.

If of two variables no matter what they are one is changing while the other remains constant no logician or statistician would ascribe the change of the first variable to the other the constant one.⁵²

Von Bertalanffy has demonstrated that an organism changes even when placed in a constant environment. Sorokin, arguing along the same lines, says:

If A varies while B remains constant, (except if B is God or Prime Mover) elementary inductive logic forbids us to see in B the cause in variation of A. If the milieu of any system said to be a going concern remains constant while the system changes the milieu cannot be regarded as the cause or the source of change of the system. If the simplest micro-organism in Meternikov's and Jennings' experiments react to a stimulus A in a certain way for the first time and if it reacts to the same stimulus in the same conditions differently the second time, the change evidently is due neither exclusively nor mainly to the environment nor to A but to the immanent property of the organism to change by virtue of its very existence and therefore its activity. Even the very capacity to react or respond to the stimulus is a capacity immanent in the organism.⁵³

Sorokin argues that proponents of the externalistic theory of social change can be logically driven into four blind alleys:

- 1.) Either to the endless regression from A to B, B to C, C to N and so on endlessly none of which can change itself or can be a source of change for the others. The regression is endless and fruitless and cannot give either change or an end in this hopeless hunt for a self starting agent in the endless regressive movement from factor to factor.
- 2.) Or to the ultimate Prime Mover be it God or any other ultimate principle itself either unmoved as in Plato's -

Aristotle's theories or self-moving as in some other theories. If in the search for the ultimate source of change in metaphysics such a solution may be or may not be adequate; in the study of the empirical and socio-cultural phenomena such a solution does not solve the problem at all.

- 3.) Or to an ascription of immanent change to some of the socio-cultural or generally empirical systems. For instance to climate, to means and modes of production, of Marxianism, to a demographic factor and so on. But such a solution means abandonment of the externalistic theory and self-contradiction for it signifies that contrary to the externalistic thesis, some of the socio-cultural or empirical systems bear in themselves the reason of their change and can be self-starters and movers of other systems or variables. Such a thesis is but a variety of an immanent principle of change.
- 4.) Finally the fourth blind alley into which such an externalist may try to run for salvation is the logical absurdity of producing something (change) out of nothing (from the systems which are devoid of immanent change according to the externalistic theories). If the socio-cultural systems are devoid of change, if the same is true of the biological and inorganic phenomena, if neither the line of infinite regression nor the postulating of the ultimate Prime Mover nor an arbitrary ascription of immanent change to something is assumed, then the only source of change that is left to the externalist is nothing. But a long time ago Melissus said: For if it (change) comes into being before it came into being, it must have been nothing. If then it was nothing, nothing could ever come out of nothing.⁵⁴

Sorokin's conception of immanent social change states simply that change is an immanent consequence of a system being a going concern. Its functioning makes change inevitable. Sorokin writes on this point:

Any system which is during its existence a going concern, which works and acts and does not remain in a state of rest in the literary sense of the

word, cannot help changing because it performs some activity, some work as long as it exists. Only a system which is in an absolute vacuum, at a state of rest and is not functioning, can escape change under these conditions.⁵⁵

He sums up his arguments for the principle of immanent change in the following words:

For all these reasons, the principle of an exclusive and consistent externalism is untenable. In contrast to it, the principle of immanent change of a socio-cultural system is free from these logical and factual errors... The endorsement of the immanent principle of change does not hinder a recognition of the role of the external forces in the change of the socio-cultural system. Any socio-cultural system lives and functions amidst other socio-cultural systems. If each of these bears in itself the seeds of its own change, their interaction leads to this change still more.⁵⁶

Sorokin's view of social change visualizes immanently changing socio-cultural systems and subsystems, in interaction with each other. Due to immanently generated changes in the systems these systems exert influences, shocks and pressures on each other.

Taken together, they make a constellation of the immanently changing systems in which each one facilitates (or inhibits. Our remark) the change of the other members of the constellation.⁵⁷

The views of von Bertalanffy and Sorokin in regard to systemic principles and processes discussed so far converge on at least the following points:

- 1.) Both view a system as a non-summative entity.
- 2.) Both view a system as an active going concern, self-regulating and goal directed.
- 3.) Both view the "organization" of elements within

a system as a counteractive, multi-variable, dynamic activity essentially not in a state of mechanical equilibrium.

- 4.) Both acknowledge the existence of linear trends in systemic processes toward differentiation, multi-level organization, progressive mechanization and centralization.
- 5.) While von Bertalanffy's statement on the processes (mentioned above under 4.) refers to broad systemic properties, Sorokin's interest is mainly directed toward properties of socio-cultural systems. He emphasizes that in the unfolding of linear socio-cultural processes, time limits exist beyond which a reversal or arrest of such linear developmental processes takes place. Such processes might lead to decentralization rather than centralization.

What further agreements exist between Sorokin and von Bertalanffy?

Immanent change or self-regulation in organic and socio-cultural systems is a complex phenomena. A number of key terms like information, multi-variable interaction etc. are among others indicative of these various processes that are active in a self-regulating open system. The following discussion drawing on concepts developed by von Bertalanffy and Sorokin attempts to introduce and to clarify the meaning of these terms within the framework of General Systems Theory.

Probably the most elementary self-regulating system is the thermostat. The working principle of the thermostat in recent years has become known as cybernetics. Outlining the essential features of cybernetics, von Bertalanffy writes:

The basic concepts of cybernetics are those of "feedback" and of "information". The minimum elements of a cybernetic system are a "receptor" accepting "stimuli" from outside as input. From this a message is led to a "centre" which in some

way reacts to the message and as a rule amplifies the signals received. The centre in its turn transmits the message to an "effector" which eventually reacts to the stimulus as "response" as output. The output, however, is monitored back by a feedback loop to the receptor which so senses the preliminary response and steers the subsequent action of the system so that eventually the desired result is obtained. In this way the system is self-regulating.

The function of the cybernetic system further depends on "messages" received from outside and playing between receptor, centre and effector. That is on transmission of a something which as a rule is represented by minute quantities of energy but has a "meaning" to the system. This "information" turns out to be a novel quantity in comparison to conventional physical measures such as energy, mass, etc.⁵⁸

The cybernetic model was found to have a wide applicability in living organisms. It is part of the principle of "homeostasis" where it contributes to the maintenance of physiological parameters at a constant level. An example in question is the maintenance of the temperature of the human body at a certain level irrespective of the external influences of heat or cold. (Within the effective range of the capabilities of the organism, of course.) Maintenance of the sugar, iron or hormone levels in the bloodstream are other examples. However, von Bertalanffy asserts that the cybernetic model:

...is still mechanistic in the sense that it presupposes "a mechanism" that is structural arrangements if even of a rudimentary nature. In behavioral terms the cybernetic model is the familiar stimulus-response schema with the feedback loop added so as to make the system self-regulating. Speaking in epistemological terms, while the prototype of undirected physical processes is linear (cause A followed by effect B) the cybernetic model introduces circular causality by way of the feedback loop and this makes for the self-regulation, goal

directedness, homeostasis, etc. of the system.⁵⁹

Linear causality as well as circular causality presuppose an externalistic theory of change. Self-regulation in terms of the circular causality of cybernetics is only of limited utility in the understanding of organic and socio-cultural phenomena.

Information entering certain systems from the outside may be subject to linear or circular causality. In biological and particularly socio-cultural systems information entering a system or being created in a system becomes subject to multi-variable interaction. Multi-variable interaction attempts to:

get at the full complexity of the interacting phenomena -- to see not only the "causes" acting on the phenomena under study, the possible consequences of the phenomena, and the possible mutual interaction of some of these factors, but also to see the "total emergent processes" as a function of possible positive and/or negative feedbacks mediated by the "selective decision" or "choices" of the individuals and groups directly or indirectly involved.⁶⁰

The notion of multi-variable interaction involves a constellation of various factors interacting with each other over time. In contrast to static two or three-way relationships, multi-variable interaction imputes "causality" to the dynamic change of variables in relation to each other. Such a view implies what Sorokin has called the principle of limit. Buckley refers to it as step function. He says:

One type of relation more and more frequently encountered is the special kind of nonlinear relation referred to as step function, whereby a variable has no appreciable effect on others until its value has increased or decreased by some minimal increment. Consequently research may fail to disclose any significant relationship even though a large potential interaction is in fact building up.⁶¹

In 1941, Sorokin formulated three principles of limits which in their significance go far beyond the notion of step function outlined above. The first of these principles refers to the limits in causal-functional relationships. After careful logical and empirical investigation, Sorokin sums this principle up in the following sentences:

- a.) The common and almost unquestioned assumption that a certain causal-functional relation discovered for variables of stated values will remain valid for any values whatever is fallacious.
- b.) All causal, functional or correlational formulas claiming the existence of connection between two or more variables, but not containing any indication of the limits within which the generalization is valid and beyond which it must be qualified or abandoned, are immature inferences and conclusions.
- c.) In such incomplete and unqualified form these statements give no adequate knowledge of the interrelationships between the phenomena and often disfigure the nature of these bonds, disguise other more efficient causes or more fundamental relationships, and hinder the discovery of the true conditions existing beyond the limits which should really be imposed upon the stated conditions.
- d.) If such limitations are not carefully determined and stated we can hardly expect to penetrate to any real knowledge of the interactions among societal variables. We shall suffer from a multiplication of immature causal formulas, and contradictory coefficients of correlation will overwhelm us.
- e.) The above shows that causal-functional interdependence between most diverse and numerous variables has limits within a certain value of these variables. Beyond it, it ceases to exist, or changes fundamentally.⁶²

It is clear that this conceptualization of limits in causal-functional relationships implies the notion of "trigger causality". Crucial increases or decreases or the reaching of certain critical limits in a variable might set a causal sequence into motion far beyond the initial change. Limits of relationships can, of course, be defined through the presence or absence of other variables which might act as a kind of catalyst on certain relationships between observed variables.

Sorokin's second principle of limits is concerned with the limits of direction in socio-cultural change touched on earlier. Addressing himself to the socio-evolutionists, some of whom implicitly assumed that social or biological processes move endlessly with or without minor deviations in the same direction without limit. He writes:

By virtue of the "Principle of Immanent Change" any "social system in process", just because it is in process, will inevitably be worn out, modified or transformed. Likewise it is hardly probable that the change would occur in such a manner that all the "parts and sides" or aspects of a social system in process would become changed proportionately so as not to break the existing perpetual trend of the movement. Such an assumption also would require a miracle. These considerations show them that for an admission of perpetual direction of social or biological processes at least two highly improbable assumptions must be made and two "miracles" expected. Consequently, in reference to all or the majority of socio-cultural processes, neither assumption nor the theory resting upon it is acceptable. They are a matter of belief and cannot be proposition of science. This explains why there are turns and caesuras in the direction of the majority of socio-cultural processes.⁶³

The third principle of limit is called by Sorokin, the principle of limited possibilities of socio-cultural change.

Having seen that many processes cannot move forever in the same direction, these processes on the other hand cannot turn forever into new directions. The possibility of new possibilities in socio-cultural development is limited. Sorokin writes:

...if not for all, then at least for an enormous number of socio-cultural systems in process, the number of fundamental possibilities as to ever new fundamental turns in direction, essentially new forms, patterns and appearances the system can assume is limited and bounded. Differing concretely in number for different systems, these possibilities are not infinite but finite. Having run through all of them, the system either ends its existence, or, if it continues to live, it has to repeat again one or more of the turns and forms through which it has already passed. In that case the process of the existence of the system would display recurrent qualitative, quantitative, spatial rhythms, turns, patterns, forms, tempi, or what not (no matter whether they are periodical or not.) ...if a given system has unlimited possibilities of change, under such conditions, the system can change so radically that it will lose all its essential characteristics and become unidentifiable. Such a change means the cessation of the existence of the system; when a system becomes unidentifiable and loses its sameness, it disappears. Hence, so long as a system lives, it has limits in its change. The selectivity of a system leads to the same result. An unlimited possibility of change for a given system means it can become anything, can ingest everything, therefore can become radically different from what it was and unidentifiable. Such a change is equivalent to the cessation of the existence of the system and to its replacement by another -- quite different -- system. For these almost axiomatic reasons, practically any system must have and does have limits to the range of its change. The limits transgressed, the system disappears.⁶⁴

The limited possibilities of socio-cultural phenomena are demonstrated by such well-known processes as changes of types of economic or political organizations. Economically, the history of mankind has seen such economic organizations as hunting, collecting, pastoral, agricultural, industrial and their variations. The possible political organizations were already limited to five by Plato and six by Aristotle. Some main types of socio-cultural systems can be limited to Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, rural-urban, etc. Systems of truth, according to Sorokin, are limited to five.

To postulate limits in development does not mean that a socio-cultural development is seen as circular or cyclical. Socio-cultural systems fluctuate between the possible but limited forms which they can attain. They do not move around like a carrousel, endlessly merging the endpoint of one development to the starting point of the other.

Socio-cultural systems fluctuate irregularly according to the forces within and external to them. Their fluctuations between the possible principle forms they can take contains ever new manifestations of a number of basic possibilities. No new socio-cultural system can ever be like an older system.

The recurrence of new socio-cultural manifestations of some basic possibilities (e.g. democracy) brings these phenomena within the range of scientific research. To study the occurrence of such phenomena means to study the fluctuations of basic social variables and their dynamic multi-interactional constellations over time. If

basic socio-cultural phenomena recur, and this seems to be indisputable, then the dynamic forces producing them must be subject to such multi-variable analysis.

The relevance of the foregoing discussion to our hypothesis is quite obvious. The fluctuations of the Hutterite group between the community of goods and the alternate structure, that of the community of love, seem to indicate the possible fluctuations of this socio-cultural system.

Developing beyond the limits set by this range would mean the disappearance of the system as a distinct socio-cultural entity.

To study the various stages of Hutterite fluctuations through a multi-variable approach attempts to ascertain in a rudimentary and crude way constellations of variables and the modes of their dynamic interaction, in relation to the fluctuations of the system as a whole.

Implied in this view are not only relations of facilitation but also those of inhibition between variables. This is to say, that the nature and content of one variable might have an inhibitory or facilitating effect on some or all others. To isolate such inhibitory or facilitating variables and their effects on others is one of the procedures by which some knowledge about the dynamics of multi-variable interaction can be attained.

In the case of the Hutterite socio-cultural system, for example, the "inhibitory" influences of the basic premises of this socio-cultural system on other variables should be isolated.

Empirically this will be done by isolating the basic premises

of the socio-cultural system -- the reason for the system to come into being -- and to trace the interrelations of these basic premises to other variables in terms of their facilitating or inhibitory qualities.

To speak of basic variables means that some variables within a socio-cultural system are assumed to be of greater "causal" significance than others. The selection of variables assumed to be relevant to an investigation of the system should proceed from a logical inspection of the empirical system. Such a method might not be the best one, but it seems to be the only promising one for this study. Unlike the method of factor analysis which tries to arrive at basic variables, by inspecting the quantitative representation of one variable over others, the logical inspection proposed in this paper proceeds from the basis of qualitative-meaningful relations. The decision to include or to exclude a variable, therefore, is based on the logical demonstration that these variables in fact do interact logico-meaningfully with one another in a major way.

To say that there is multi-variable interaction does not mean that interaction and the effects of such interaction are synonymous in terms of time.

Sorokin says on this subject:

Since by definition and by fact a cultural system is a unity, whose parts are bound together by a meaningful-causal tie, it cannot help changing in togetherness...
...such interdependence or togetherness of change within the system is a function only of the inherent relationships between its parts. Whether the

changes occur simultaneously or not is in large part irrelevant to their togetherness...
...In considering the relation between causal connection and time, two basic facts should be kept in mind: different or identical causes operating under different circumstances require differing amounts of time to produce their effects; the effects of an important change in a part of a system may reach some parts quickly but others only after a considerable time lag.⁶⁵

As von Bertalanffy has pointed out, the crucial difference between cybernetic feedback cycles and true multi-variable interaction lies in the quality of that entity that controls this process.

Simple cybernetic feedback cycles in the first place react blindly toward an original variable and subsequently react to the original variable plus the change which was inflicted on it by the first reaction.

The reaction of this nature is in terms of some parameter standing for a certain goal to be reached. The interchange is of a summative nature.

Multi-variable interaction likewise implies a goal directiveness. This goal in a social system is defined not only in quantities but in terms of qualities. It is the qualitative character of the goal which makes the process non-summative.

Taylor insists that:

...at least one significant and irreducible difference between human purposive behavior and servo-mechanism behavior is the presumed fact that the latter can never positively seek objects which are non-existent, such as the Holy Grail.⁶⁶

In other words, the true multi-variable interaction in socio-cultural systems is controlled and directed by the ideas, meanings and ideals which the members of the system attempt to realize in their action.

Such a process in socio-cultural systems is basically evaluative in the sense that any new piece of information coming to the attention of the system is being evaluated in terms of the nature of the whole system. The nature of the system in turn becomes evaluated in terms of the new piece of information entering the system.

Unless force or coercion is applied, a socio-cultural system selects as information certain ideas, attitudes, patterns of behavior, etc. which are capable of transformation within the system. By transformation is meant a process whereby the information entering a system acquires meaning in the system and dynamically interacts with the other variables making up the system. To say that a socio-cultural system does select information which is capable of meaningful transformation in the system does not imply that a socio-cultural system takes into its system only information which is capable of such a process. That many pieces of information can enter a system without taking part in this process of dynamic interaction is evident. Such information might linger around as unintegrated information. If, for example, the rules of football in the Canadian Football League were changed, the members of the Hutterite sect in Western Canada might know and hear about this. Since, however, they are totally indifferent

to a mass spectator sport of this type, this information, while known, remains basically meaningless and ineffective in regard to changes in the system.

Evaluation of information implies interpretation of something new in terms of something old. But it means more than only interpretation. It means the fitting of something new to something old as well as the fitting of something old to something new. Such fitting can only be accomplished through changing the new as well as the old.

The fitting of new components with existing components in a system represents what is being called multi-variable interaction. It generates the process which is known as the elaboration of the structure. The elaboration of the structure contains the dynamic processes of differentiation, etc. as outlined in the previous discussion. New social structures are not created because the system needs these structures as the functionalists might claim, but they are created because there are meaningful evaluative forces in the system that produce them in multi-variable interaction.

Such processes of evaluation of information should not be understood as functional necessities in relation to some function prerequisites, but as an ongoing struggle for unified meaning in and between the various parts and the whole of a system. The reasons for existence of a socio-cultural system are not imposed on it from the outside but these reasons are created dynamically and ever changing in the system itself. Biological parameters of a socio-cultural system

are not maintained because the system needs them for its existence, but because existence is a meaningful activity for the system. The continuation of meaningfully directed activities in itself is meaningful and it is for these reasons that the maintenance of biological parameters likewise becomes meaningful for a system. The precarious existence of many socio-cultural systems including those that go to war and gamble their very existence on a series of contingencies in battle, cannot be explained by postulating a tendency of a system to maintain its functional prerequisites, but only in terms of the dynamic meaning which any such contingent and risky activity attains in the ongoing process of the system. In other words, non-existence might, under certain conditions, be more meaningful to the members in a system than existence under conditions felt to be intolerable. The slogan: "Rather red than dead" can have validity in some socio-cultural systems, but this does not mean that there are not or were not socio-cultural systems that would choose the opposite, "Rather dead than red". If history is any guide, in this respect, Leonidas and his Spartans in 480 B.C., among others, gave some indication of this possible reaction.

Transformation of information by and in a socio-cultural system into meaning through multi-variable interaction is evaluation and this evaluation takes place in terms of its own qualitative content.

Such evaluation and fitting of meaning is a creative act and constitutes a peculiar human capability.

C. H. Mead, while concerned with the development of the "self", called the human mind the inner flow of speech and what it means.
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The process of multi-variable interaction in socio-cultural systems, as we see it here, can be labelled the flow of information and action in terms of what it means.

Information can enter a system on any level of subsystems. Consequently information which can obtain meaning in a subsystem might produce consequences incompatible to the whole. It is this possible incompatibility between the dynamics in the subsystems and the dynamics of the whole of the socio-cultural system which prevents a state of equilibrium.

Social change is, in part, this dynamic process of interaction between meanings contained and structurally elaborated in the whole and meanings contained and structurally elaborated in the subsystems. In other words, social change is a struggle for meaning and structural elaboration within the whole and within subsystems as well as between the whole and subsystems.

Sorokin has summarized and expanded these processes of selection and creation of information and its transformation under two terms. The first is "meaningful interaction" and the second "integration". Meaningful interaction for Sorokin is the generic phenomena of socio-cultural systems. He suggests that the search for the generic social phenomena within the smallest social unit, like the individual or his role, was badly understood by social scientists.

Enthused by the success which physical scientists produced by investigating the smallest and most simple units of physical phenomena, social scientists tried to copy this method.

Sorokin claims that physical scientists became interested in atoms not because these were at times seen as the smallest and simplest units, but because these units in their generic forms were common to all physical phenomena. It is the summative commonness of properties which enabled the physicist to generalize his observations far beyond the single atom.

The biologist, trying to follow the same procedure, ran headlong into the dilemma of not being able to generalize the laws of cellular behavior beyond the isolated cell to the whole of the organic phenomena. This dilemma in which the biologist found himself essentially led to new approaches as outlined by von Bertalanffy and others.

The study of the "simplest social unit" met a similar disaster. Although not many sociologists are aware of it, the individual by himself is not a socio-cultural phenomena at all, but at best is an organic and physiological phenomenon. The role occupied by an individual can become a role only in the context of other roles and without a whole social milieu a role simply does not exist.

Sorokin says:

The most general model of any socio-cultural phenomena is the meaningful interaction of two or more human individuals. By "interaction" is meant any event by which one party tangibly influences the overt actions or the state of

mind of the other...

... Hence a tangible, observable or noticeable degree of influencing and conditioning is a necessary characteristic of socio-cultural phenomena.⁶⁸

Interaction then implies the flow of meaning between two or more individuals and the effect which this flow of meaning has on the overt actions or state of mind of the individuals involved.

Sorokin's formulation of this process, in all respects, contains the principles of "information" and "meaning" developed in General Systems Theory.

He proceeds to break down the generic socio-cultural phenomena into its logical components. He writes:

Every process of meaningful human interaction consists of three components, each component, in turn, being made up of many elements that determine its concrete forms. These components are: 1.) Thinking, acting, and reacting human beings as subjects of interaction; 2.) meanings, values, and norms for the sake of which the individuals interact, realizing and exchanging them in the course of the interaction; 3.) overt actions and material phenomena as vehicles or conductors through which immaterial meanings, values, and norms are objectified and socialized.⁶⁹

Sorokin, of course, does not perceive this process of meaningful interaction in the crude way of cybernetics yielding to linear or circular causality; but in the multi-variable evaluative way in which von Bertalanffy has developed it. This implies processes which tend to elaborate or change a system's existing forms, social structures or patterns of overt behavior.

It can now be said with some confidence that Sorokin's concept

of the "generic social phenomena" contains in effect the principles and processes contained in General Systems Theory as discussed in this paper.

He goes on to elaborate on some major processes by paying attention to the process of "integration" between: a.) meanings, values, and norms; b.) vehicles of meaningful integration (overt behavior, social structure, material objects, physical, chemical, biological processes used for externalizing, objectifying and socializing meanings, values and norms.) Using these two components, three levels of integration are possible:

- a.) In the case of a purely meaningful-ideological integration there is no causal tie between the components of meanings, values and norms of an individual and other components of his culture, his overt actions and the vehicles involved.
- b.) In the case of the double ideological-behavioral integration of culture and personality the integration becomes not only purely ideological but also causal between components of meanings, values, and norms and that of the overt behavior of persons.
- c.) In the case of the triple integration, meaningful-behavioral vehicles, the causal-meaningful ties extend over all three components of culture and personality of the interacting individual. His culture and personality becomes fully integrated into one consistent meaningful causal unity. His behavioral and material culture faithfully and consistently articulates his ideological integrated culture.⁷⁰

These levels of integration may be seen as graduations in the process of the "elaboration of the social structure". Such elaboration is called by Sorokin, "objectification of meanings, values, etc. in

vehicles, patterns of actions, social structure, etc."

At times, of course, pure meanings become integrated with other meanings without affecting behavior. In this case no structural elaboration occurs. Some discoveries in science are of such nature. Not all new meanings in science need to have a behavioral counterpart affecting the socio-cultural system in which such scientific discoveries were made.

However, other pieces of information or new discoveries meaningfully integrated might force tremendous behavioral and structural changes. To discover that the earth was a sphere rather than a flat plateau influenced all aspects of Western socio-cultural systems in the course of the last four hundred years.

The meaning of "integration of social systems" as seen by Sorokin is one of degrees of consistency between values, normative patterns (overt behavior) and the social structure (vehicles in which values and overt behavior become objectified and expressed.)⁷¹ His typology of integration postulates that possible forces of consistency between these three factors designate the nature and degree of integration. However, he allows for the possibility that these three components, although being present, may not be consistent with each other and, therefore, can possibly create conditions of non-integration or disintegration within a society.

Sorokin perceives social change as a quantitative and qualitative change in these components of integration. The tighter the general and differential integration of parts of the system, the more conspicuous

is the change of these parts in togetherness.⁷² An important change in one important part demands a corresponding meaningful-causal change in other parts and in the whole system; similarly the change of the whole system affects a corresponding change of its parts.⁷³

In other words, Sorokin asserts that the parts and the whole of a social system are bound together by meaningful-causal ties. Insofar as one of the parts or as the whole system changes, the other parts will adjust to this change in meaningful-causal terms. The meaningfulness of the adjustment determines the direction of change that is taking place in the social system under investigation.

It should be remembered that this process of meaningful-causal relations does not only move from meanings and values to overt behavior and social structure where values determine behavior and the social structure. Rather, these components interact in a dynamic way. The causal significance of any of these components can change. In a progressively mechanized socio-cultural system the causal significance of the structural components might be such that its determinate influence regarding the whole overrides the value components. In an undifferentiated socio-cultural system the value components might have a greater determinate influence than the structural ones.

This is to say that the dynamic energy shown by a socio-cultural system might derive mainly from one or the other factor while the rest of the factors either facilitate or inhibit the unfolding of

such social energy. But sooner or later the dynamic patterns will change. These linear patterns of development will build up obstacles and internal hurdles which facilitate a change of direction and change of emphasis in the socio-cultural system.

Sorokin refers to these changing dynamic patterns when he speaks of fluctuations and non-linear processes in socio-cultural development.

Von Bertalanffy as well as Sorokin are interested in the regularity of such changing patterns. Assuming that such changes are non-random, General Systems Theory attempts to formulate dynamic patterns on such a level of generality that they apply to material and non-material, to inorganic and organic or superorganic phenomena. This search for regularity referred to by von Bertalanffy as isomorphism, is not a search for the legendary stone of wisdom, but scientific research for dynamic patterns applicable to phenomena of diverse contents.

A form of sequential isomorphism, for example, seems to underlie the phasing of the Hutterite sect as outlined earlier. Essentially similar dynamic patterns seem to have been at work in phase I and III and in phase II and IV of this development.

The notion of isomorphism is implied in Sorokin's discussion conducted earlier on the limited possibilities of turns and fluctuations which any particular socio-cultural system might take. Although Sorokin does not use the term isomorphism, the essential similarity of "isomorphism" and "integralism" as used by Sorokin is evident.

Speaking about his integral Weltanschauung, he says:

An unusually wide range of my life experiences and dealings with most different persons and groups, and of my exposure to most different cultural climates probably has been instrumental in directing my attention not only to their differences but especially to their "similarities" and "uniformities". Such sorts of existential conditions, reinforced by a substantial study of the respective phenomena, explain, to a tangible degree, the somewhat broad and encyclopedic character of some of my theories and concentration in my research upon a discovery and formulation of the structural and dynamic "uniformities" in the phenomena studied.

The stern school of life with its severe discipline favored also a development of logical consistency and scientific discipline of my analytical thought manifest in many of my volumes and culminating in my efforts at a construction of consistent systems of integral philosophy, sociology and psychology; of an integral system of reality, cognition, creativity and of value--all based upon the same basic axioms and all mutually consistent with each other. (Emphasis ours)

At the present time this "Integral Weltanschauung" has just about matured. It serves me--and I hope it may serve others of my fellow men--as a firm, ideological, axiological and existential foundation for my peace-of-mind and integration of self and for my guidance through the devastating-regenerating, epochal hurricane sweeping over the human universe today.⁷⁴

Again it must be noted that Bertalanffy and Sorokin starting from different phenomena -- Bertalanffy with the organic, Sorokin with the socio-cultural -- essentially come to the same conclusions.

There remains one more feature of General Systems Theory to be discussed. Von Bertalanffy coined the term equifinality, designating the same final state or goal which may be reached from different initial conditions or in different ways.

This term logically expands the notion of isomorphism-- which refers to dynamic processes -- to the same goals that may be attained by these ongoing processes. Using a biological example, von Bertalanffy demonstrates that the normal ovum of a sea urchin, for example, can be cut in half or in quarters, etc. and still produce the same result, a normal sea urchin larva.

Sorokin refers to the same phenomena when he demonstrates that socio-cultural systems by their very composition as living active systems contain certain possibilities which they are destined to realize in their development.

Equifinality in the sense in which von Bertalanffy is using it, in part implies the notion of a deterministic goal or steady state. In clarifying the problem of determinism -- indeterminism in socio-cultural systems, Sorokin first asks the question:

What is the relationship of the immanent principle (of change, our remark) to the problem of determinism - indeterminism? Is the immanent principle of change a variety of determinism or is it that of indeterminism? The answer is: neither or both. So far as the immanent principle implies that the normal course and the essential traits of the system are greatly determined by the potentialities of the system at the moment of its emergence, it is deterministic. It is also deterministic so far as the influence of external factors is concerned, when it reaches beyond the margin of the system's autonomy. Considering, however, that the determining potentialities of the system are the system itself and are its immanent properties the determinism of the system turns into self-determinism. Self-determinism is the equivalent of freedom.

...The self-determination of a system is exactly this: it is rooted in the system; it expresses its very nature and its most essential potentialities; it flows spontaneously from the system and cannot do otherwise.

For all these reasons the principle of immanent self-determination is equivalent to indeterminism. It is indeterministic also in the sense that the very notion of the potentialities of the system, ..., contains an element of indeterminacy on its fringes and in no way means a rigid necessity, as has been shown above. In all these aspects, the principle of immanent change of a system is indeterministic and implies a considerable margin of autonomy from all the agencies that are external to the system, and also some amount of indeterminacy within the system itself, so far as realization of its potentialities is concerned.⁷⁵

Sorokin proceeds to ask three questions relevant to the notion of equifinality in socio-cultural systems.

- 1.) In the unfolding of the potentialities of the system in its life career, is there only one quite rigid and definite course for the system, or are there several possibilities or routes to be travelled?⁷⁶

He comes to the conclusion:

Potentiality has always a margin for variation, especially on its fringes...
...Potentiality is only an approximately marked course of career or direction of development...
...the very existence of the external conditions of a system makes its life career not absolutely predetermined at the moment of the emergence of the system.⁷⁷

The second and third questions are:

- 2.) Is the margin of self-determination of the system and its dependence upon external conditions the same for all socio-cultural systems or is it different for different systems?
- 3.) If so upon what conditions does the relative position of self-determination and dependence upon external agencies in the system depend?⁷⁸

Sorokin regards it as axiomatic that the share of immanent factors of self-determination and that of external circumstances is different for

different systems. Three conditions determine the degree of self-determination of a system.

- 1.) The kind of socio-cultural system.
- 2.) The kind of milieu in which it exists.
- 3.) The total and specific immunity of a system from its environment in the molding of its destiny.⁷⁹

Connecting these logical components with his theory of integration, Sorokin is able to formulate the following proposition:

Other conditions being equal, the highest amount of self-determination belongs to those social and cultural systems which are most perfectly integrated, causally and meaningfully.⁸⁰

With these clarifications Sorokin clarifies the general concept of equifinality. Applying it to socio-cultural systems the term implies self-determinism according to potentialities within ranges of variability. Such variability is influenced by different internal systemic factors (degrees of integration) and different external factors.

Finally it should be acknowledged that Sorokin, as well as von Bertalanffy, are proponents of an "open systems" theory. Sorokin's view on social change and social dynamics, as outlined earlier, rejects the notion of an increase in entropy characteristic of closed systems. His view regarding the creative abilities of social systems in association with the interchange and retroactive influences which one system exerts on the others demonstrates his position.

Von Bertalanffy's contribution on the topic of "open" versus

"closed" systems consists of the formulation of a number of principles of open systems and their significance for biological phenomena.

Rejecting the applicability of the first two principles of classical thermodynamics for living systems, von Bertalanffy writes:

Whereas in closed systems the trend of events is determined by the increase of entropy, irreversible processes in open systems cannot be characterized by entropy or another thermodynamical potential; rather the steady state (Fließgleichgewicht. Our remark) which the system approaches is defined by the approach of minimal entropy production. From this arises the revolutionary consequence that in the transition to a steady state within an open system there may be a decrease in entropy and a spontaneous transition to a state of higher heterogeneity and complexity. This fact is possibly of fundamental significance for the increase in complexity and order which is characteristic for organic development and evolution.⁸¹

The theory of open systems has not only opened a new chapter in physics and biology, but in sociology as well. The concept of the mechanical model based on equilibrating properties is still based on a closed system perspective.

In contrast, the notion of an open system implies irritability, adaptability, primary reactivity, self regulation, changeability, reproducibility, selective sensitivity, goal directedness and interchange with its environment in terms of material and information.

An open system is seen as an entity capable of these performances because of its basic ability to decrease its entropy content through interchange with its environment. In the course of performing the above mentioned activities an open system "lives" in the true sense

of the word. Such living proceeds from the simple to the complex structural-functional appearances.

The foregoing discussion of concepts and postulates developed by Sorokin and von Bertalanffy may be summarized in a paradigm of General Systems Theory as applied to socio-cultural systems.

1.) A socio-cultural system is a non-summative phenomena where the relations between elements cannot be studied by isolating these elements but by studying the relations of these elements to the whole and to each other.

Basic Difficulty: How to determine the crucial elements to be studied? How can relations between elements and between elements and the whole be studied in their dynamic aspects? How can qualitatively defined elements be studied in relation to each other when a quantitative analysis is not entirely appropriate or perhaps is insufficient?

2.) A socio-cultural system is a dynamic entity. The crucial characteristics of such a system is not its structure, but the dynamic organization of its parts in relation to each other and to its whole. (Bertalanffy: "organization", "multi-variable interaction", Sorokin: "interaction", "integration".) The dynamic organization of a system determines the type of activities which it performs. (Self regulation, adaptability, goal seeking, etc.)

Basic Difficulty: How can the dynamic aspects of a system be obtained through scientific research? Since dynamic processes proceed in time,

such processes might be slow or fast. How can slow processes be observed if they might take years or decades to unfold?

3.) A socio-cultural system is self-regulating. (Sorokin: "immanent change", Bertalanffy: contain elements of "primary activity"). This means that a system contains certain possibilities for development and these possibilities are being realized in the turns and fluctuations which such a system takes.

Basic Difficulty: Many systems are very different in their characteristics. How can the basic possibilities of such systems be ascertained? How can external and internal factors be kept separate when a system is relatively indistinct?

4.) A socio-cultural system realizes its potential through an elaboration of its structure. (Sorokin: "objectification" of values, etc. in behavioral and structural forms. Von Bertalanffy: "differentiation", "progressive mechanization", "centralization", etc.) Structural elaboration means adaptation according to external and internal forces acting on or within a system. Elaboration and simplification of social structures in socio-cultural systems is possible.

Basic Difficulty: Social structures change relatively slowly. How can these processes be ascertained through studies limited in time?

5.) The dynamics of a socio-cultural system (elaboration of structure, adaptation, etc.) are derived from the multi-variable interaction within a system. (Von Bertalanffy: "information", "open system", "intake", "meaning to the system". Sorokin: "meaningful

interaction", "integration".) Such multi-variable interaction takes place on various levels of generality, (subsystems), maintaining an essentially dynamic state within a socio-cultural system.

6.) The self-determination of a socio-cultural system (Sorokin: "realization of its potential", "freedom", "determination" within ranges of variability. Von Bertalanffy: "equifinality") depends on the degree of integration within the system and the nature and degree of the forces acting on a system. Other things being equal, the greater the integration, the greater the self-determination of the system.

7.) Multi-variable interaction in a socio-cultural system (Sorokin: "meaningful interaction", "integration", "objectification". Von Bertalanffy: "dynamic organization") is a process of socio-cultural fluctuations and socio-cultural emphasis. The possibilities of such fluctuations or relative emphasis are limited. The dynamic turns of a socio-cultural system are, therefore, limited also. The establishment of flow charts of such dynamic turns (Von Bertalanffy: "isomorphism". Sorokin: "integralism") are the scientific goal of General Systems Theory.

Footnotes - Chapter I

¹Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, trans. Talcott Parsons, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958.

²Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1936.

³Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism, New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1929.

⁴Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, trans. Clive Wyon, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1931.

⁵Wilhelm Dilthey, Weltanschauung und Analyse des Menschen seit Renaissance und Reformation, Leipzig und Berlin, 1929.

⁶Charles P. Loomis, Social Systems, Essays on Their Persistence and Change, Princeton, New Jersey: D. von Nostrand Company, Inc., 1960.

⁷A. J. I. Zieglschmid, Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brueder, Northwestern University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation Inc., 1947.

⁸These phases are characterized by the presence or absence of the main structural feature of the Hutterite socio-cultural system — the community of goods.

The community of goods at this point may be characterized as a system of redistribution and allocation. It contains the following features:

- a.) Private property of any kind is not allowed.
- b.) All property is held in common.
- c.) Each person produces according to his ability.
- d.) Work is allocated by the authority of the group.
- e.) Each person consumes only those goods which are handed out to the individual by the group.
- f.) Goods are redistributed not on the basis of amount and quality of work but on the basis of some selected social and ideological criteria.

A more complete definition of the nature of the community of goods will be given in subsequent parts of this paper.

⁹Pitirim A. Sorokin, Society, Culture, and Personality: Their Structure and Dynamics, New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1947, p. 41 ff.

¹⁰R. M. MacIver, Social Causation, Toronto: Ginn and Company, 1942, p. 203.

¹¹Pitirim A. Sorokin, Contemporary Sociological Theories, New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1928, p. 5.

¹²Ibid., p. 5.

¹³Walter Buckley, Sociology and Modern Systems Theory, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1967, p. 9.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁷Talcott Parsons, Robert F. Bales and Edward A. Shils, Working Papers in the Theory of Action, New York: The Free Press, 1953.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 103.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 99.

²⁰Ibid., p. 102.

²¹Pitirim A. Sorokin, Social and Cultural Dynamics, New York: American Book Company, 1941, Vol. IV, p. 677.

²²Ibid., p. 677.

²³Ibid., p. 683.

²⁴Ibid., pp. 684-685.

²⁵Ibid., pp. 686-688.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 689-692.

²⁷Talcott Parsons, The Social System, Glencoe, New York: The Free Press, 1951, p. 481.

²⁸Sorokin, op.cit., Social and Cultural Dynamics, Vol. IV, p. 692.

²⁹Talcott Parsons, Edward A. Shils (eds.), Toward a General Theory of Action, New York and Evanston: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1951, p. 232.

³⁰Parsons, op.cit., The Social System, p. 499.

³¹Buckley, op.cit., Sociology and Modern Systems Theory, p. 10.

³²Ibid., p. 11.

³³S. A. Stouffer, L. Guttman, P. F. Lazarsfeld and others, "Studies in Social Psychology of World War II, Vol IV, Measurement and Prediction, Princeton, 1950.

³⁴Ludwig von Bertalanffy, Problems of Life, New York: Harper Torchbooks, Harper and Brothers, 1960, p. 12.

³⁵Buckley, op.cit., Sociology and Modern Systems Theory, p. 78.

³⁶von Bertalanffy, op.cit. Problems of Life, p. 16.

³⁷Ibid., pp. 16-18 (condensed).

³⁸Buckley, op.cit., Sociology and Modern Systems Theory, p. 37.

³⁹Sorokin, op.cit., Social and Cultural Dynamics, Vol. IV, p. 658.

⁴⁰von Bertalanffy, op.cit., Problems of Life, pp. 18-19.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 18.

⁴²Ibid., pp. 45-46.

⁴³Ferdinand Tönnies, Community and Society, (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft) trans. and ed. Charles P. Loomis, East Lansing: The Michigan State University Press, 1957.

⁴⁴Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society, trans. George Simpson, New York: The Free Press, second paperback edition, 1965.

⁴⁵Talcott Parsons in Emile Durkheim 1858-1917, ed. Kurt H. Wolff, Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1960, p. 129.

⁴⁶von Bertalanffy, op.cit., Problems of Life, p. 46.

⁴⁷Arnold J. Toynbee, A Study of History, 12 Vols.; London, New York, Toronto, 1939 - 1961.

⁴⁸von Bertalanffy, op.cit., Problems of Life, p. 46.

⁴⁹Sorokin, op.cit., Social and Cultural Dynamics, Vol. IV, p. 717.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 718.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 588.

⁵²Ibid., p. 594.

⁵³Ibid., p. 595.

⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 595-598.

⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 592-593.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 599.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 599.

⁵⁸Ludwig von Bertalanffy, "Psychology in the Modern World", The Heinz Werner Inaugural Lecture presented at Clark University, Jan. 13 and 14, 1966, unpublished paper, p. 76.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 78.

⁶⁰Buckley, op.cit., Sociology and Modern Systems Theory, p. 80.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 67.

⁶²Sorokin, op.cit., Social and Cultural Dynamics, Vol. IV, pp. 698-699.

⁶³Ibid., p. 700.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 702.

⁶⁵Sorokin, op.cit., Society, Culture and Personality, p. 635.

⁶⁶Richard Taylor, "Purposeful and Non-Purposeful Behavior: A Rejoinder," Philosophy of Science, 17, pp. 329-330.

⁶⁷Anselm Strauss, The Social Psychology of George Herbert Mead, The University of Chicago Press, 1959, p. 38.

⁶⁸Sorokin, op.cit., Society, Culture and Personality, pp. 40-41.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 41.

⁷⁰Ibid., chap. 18.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 340.

⁷²Ibid., pp. 636-637.

⁷³Ibid., p. 636.

⁷⁴Philip J. Allen (ed.), Pitirim A. Sorokin in Review, Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1963, p. 36.

⁷⁵Sorokin, op.cit., Social and Cultural Dynamics, Vol. IV p. 604.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 605.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 606.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 605.

⁷⁹Ibid., pp. 609-610.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 610.

⁸¹von Bertalanffy, op.cit., Problems of Life, p. 127.

CHAPTER II

The Starting Point of Analysis

Introduction

The aim of the present chapter is to apply the General Systems Theory to an empirical problem - the phasing of the Hutterite socio-cultural system - and to generate specific hypotheses in the form of dynamic flow charts that can be tested by the data.

The meaningful-behavioral-structural approach in the analysis of a socio-cultural system presupposes the existence of some central principle around which these three components are dynamically organized. The degree to which this central principle finds its expression in these three components designates the extent of the integration found in the socio-cultural system as a whole. Another way of putting it would be to postulate isomorphism between these three components of a socio-cultural system. Isomorphism here means that these components are dynamically governed by the same basic principle.

In the case of the Hutterite socio-cultural system, the religious-ideology, the social structure and the personality structure were dynamically governed by such an underlying principle.

In the present chapter, first an attempt will be made to detect and to show in some detail the central principle of integration in the Hutterite socio-cultural system. The central principle of integration might then be used as a starting point for further enquiry.

Due to some fortunate events such a starting point can be ascertained with great precision. This is mainly due to the fact

that Hutterite religious-ideological as well as historical writings are well preserved and were put together by many scholars during the last 80 years.

The Hutterite sect emerged in the form of a social movement from a larger pool of Anabaptists in Southern Germany, Switzerland and Austria. The various phases in the development of the movement can clearly be determined in terms of their sociological significance as well as in terms of space and time.

The formative years of the Hutterite social movement lasted from 1527 to 1536. During these nine years the movement developed a distinctive religious ideology; it developed an organization and social structure including a division of labor and a status hierarchy. It developed a recognized and accepted form of leadership and solved the problem of leadership succession and it formed a body of traditions, values, norms, set of moral rules and a general body of expectations.

To trace this multi-process development in all detail is beyond the scope of this paper. We will proceed by first outlining in broad terms the "ideological and structural drift" that led to the integrated Hutterite socio-cultural system, and secondly ascertain the essential content of this integration in terms of the general principle of integration around which the Hutterite system organized itself.

The following stages can be distinguished:

1.) From a group of 5000 Anabaptist refugees who had fled from various German, Swiss and Austrian countries to Moravia, the Hutterite sect emerged as a result of successive ideological and structural fragmentations.

2.) There existed three major issues which provided the dynamics of these successive fragmentations. Grouped around these major issues were scores of minor ones that were meaningfully integrated with the major issues. These issues were:

Major 1.) The rejection of the sword

Minor a.) non-participation with worldly authorities
b.) non-universal, sectarian organization
c.) social isolation
d.) attitude of suffering (expected as a result of non-violence and persecution)
e.) strictest pacifism.

Major 2.) Community of goods

Minor a.) social organization of redistribution of goods and allocation of work
b.) strong central group organization
c.) the status and role hierarchy of the group was to be contained in and restricted to the group (structural completeness of the group)
d.) obedience to the group authority
e.) asceticism (personal restraints in favor of group interests).

Major 3.) Leadership (Jakob Hutter, a Tyrolean)

a.) acceptance of one charismatic leader and acceptance of the "order" which he imposed
b.) cultural and ethnic identity (Tyrolean). (After the institutionalizing of group norms, etc. this ethnic and cultural identity became less important. However it was a factor in the formation of the group.)
c.) Solving the important problem of succession through an election procedure combining the participation of the community and those of the charismatic

disciples. (Preachers and lesser officials).

The dynamics of these successive fragmentations were one from heterogeneity to homogeneity of members; from a large body of often contradictory and unintegrated ideas to a smaller set of consistent and integrated ideas. Out of a mass of 5000 Anabaptist refugees, having scores of different ideas about a Christian community, the religious ideology of the Hutterite social movement crystallized out through successive fragmentations over these various issues. At the same time the issues clarified were immediately objectified in behavioral and structural vehicles. Each of the major fragmentations implied a spatial separation of one group from the other. Such relocations were immediately followed by the structural objectifications of ideas. The first fragmentation over the issue of non-violence, for example, was immediately followed by separation from an otherwise friendly worldly authority (the Count of Lichtenstein).

Several fragmentations over the community of goods took place until this pattern of behavior finally was accepted and structurally implemented in the final form.

These successive fragmentations caused a constant loss in membership. However, these losses were partially offset by new members joining the sect on the level of a particular development. The total membership of the Hutterite sect in 1536, when the formative process was completed, totalled only around 300 to 500 adult persons.

The following illustration attempts to show the dynamic processes involved:

Resulting dynamic
master processes
1527-1536

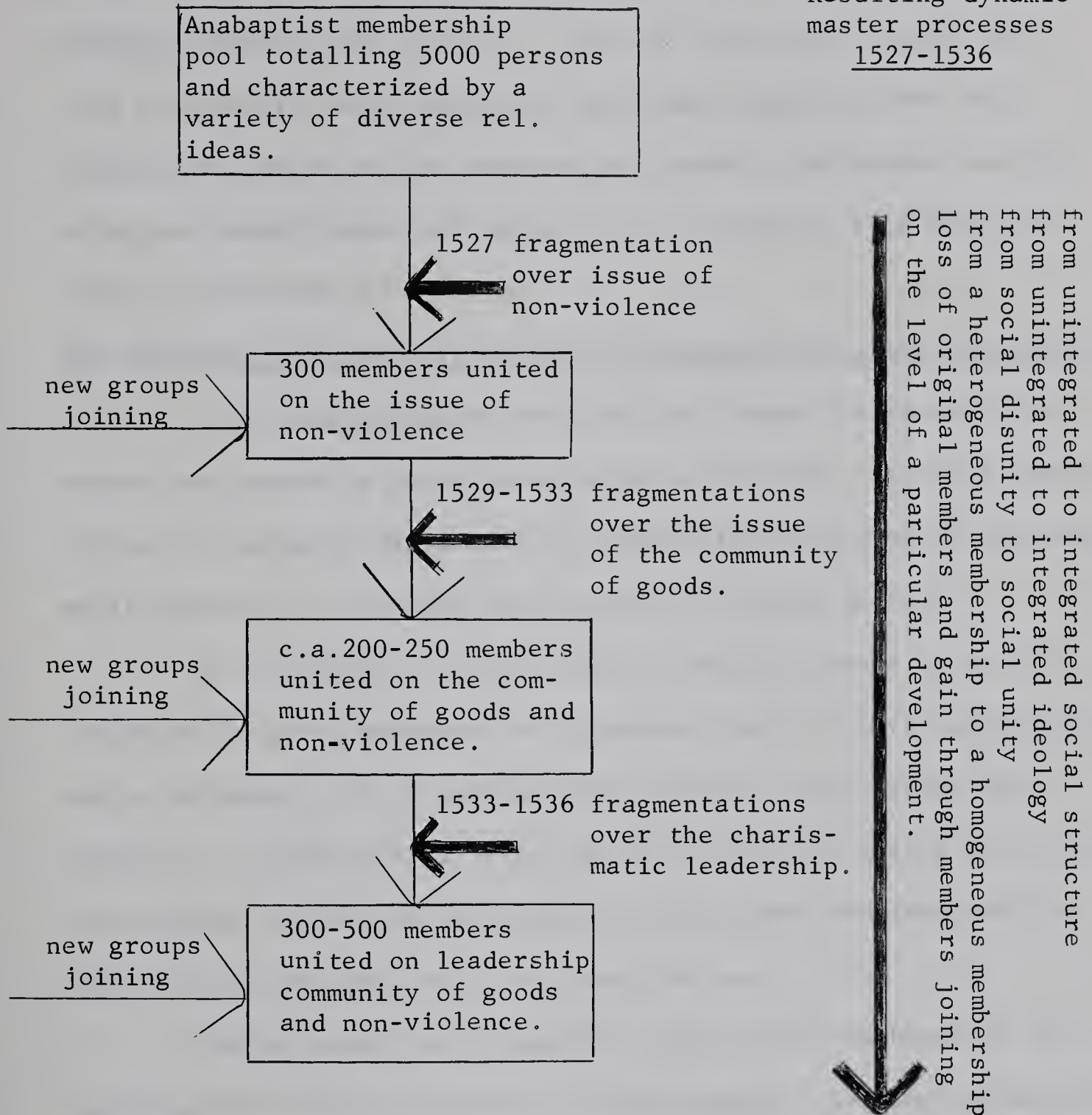


Figure 4.-- PATTERNS OF FRAGMENTATIONS AND THE RESULTING MASTER PROCESSES IN THE FORMATION OF THE HUTTERITE SECT.

It is interesting to note that Hutterite historians were keenly aware of these successive events. They referred to these fragmentations as processes of purification. (Laeuterung). They

realized quite clearly the significance of these events in establishing "order in the church".¹ Some of the events overlap and most of them are associated with the name of Jakob Hutter who eventually emerged as the charismatic leader. His memory and his religious significance for the sect is, therefore, tied together with the "attainment of order".

The ideological-structural content of integration in the Hutterite sect.

It is interesting to note that no further fragmentations within the Hutterite group occurred after 1536 when the sect completed its social movement phase with the institutionalization of the charismatic succession following the execution of Jakob Hutter.

On the contrary, during the following 12 years up to 1547, the one existing group expanded to 27 groups. Most of this expansion was due to migrants that joined the group. Many of the groups that originally fragmentalized away from the Hutterites during the formative years joined the Hutterite group once this group had attained its ideological-functional unity and integration.

The Hutterite sect, however, placed great emphasis on the spiritual and social conformity of new members. Lengthy discussions regarding all relevant ideological-religious and social matters preceded the acceptance of new members. Furthermore, all new members had to undergo probation times in order to be assessed as to their social and religious fitness.

Despite persecution hardly any Hutterite members left the sect during these times. This testifies as to the care with which new

members were selected to fit the nature of the group in which they desired to live.

An analysis of the content of the meaningful-functional integration of the Hutterite socio-cultural system is based on documents and descriptions which were produced by the sect during the first 20 years of its existence. To pinpoint such a document for a specific year does not mean that it was written in this year. Most ideological-religious and social documents, insofar as they refer to basic ideological and social principles, were not the product of a spontaneous act of writing, but usually had a long history demonstrating a drift of ideas and social norms, as outlined in some aspects above.

This is true of Peter Rideman's "Rechenschaft unserer Religion, Leer und Glaubens Von den Bruedern so man die Hutterischen nennt aussgangen."² (Account of our Religion, Doctrine and Faith). The first version of this book goes back to 1530 and the final version was probably written in 1540-1541. There is some evidence that a printed version appeared at the same time. The first known printed version, however, dates back to 1565. This book, whose significance to Hutterites is only second to the Bible, is still today the principal reference work for all matters of doctrine and faith. Together with the "Great Article Book" of 1547 and the "Handbuechlein wider den Process..." of 1558, it represents the official position of the Hutterites in both matters of doctrine and practice.³

A Review of Recent Interpretations of the Anabaptist-Hutterite Phenomena

Recent interpretations of the "essence of Anabaptism" are not

lacking. Karl Mannheim describes the "orgiastic chiliasm of the Anabaptists" as follows:

The decisive turning point in modern history was, from the point of view of our problem, the moment in which "Chiliasm" joined forces with the active demands of the oppressed strata of society...⁴

...The only true, perhaps the only direct, identifying characteristic of Chiliastic experience is absolute presentness. We always occupy some here and now on the spatial and temporal state but, from the point of view of Chiliastic experience, the position that we occupy is only incidental. For the real Chiliast the present becomes the breach through which what was previously inward bursts out suddenly, takes hold of the outer world and transforms it. The mystic lives either in recollection of ecstasy or in longing for it. His metaphors describe this ecstasy as a psychic situation which cannot be conceived of in spatial and temporal terms as a union with the closed world of the beyond. It is perhaps this same ecstatic substance which turns with the Chiliasts into the immediate here and now, but not in order simply to delight in it, but in order to whip it up and make it a part of himself. (Emphasis ours.)⁵

The utopian mentality of Anabaptism as Mannheim sees it is the mentality of people who bring the heavens down to earth and make it a part of themselves. Robert Friedmann, who is probably the greatest living authority on Hutterite religion, reviewed the various interpretations of what he calls the "essence of Hutterite-Anabaptism."⁶ He discusses Franklin H. Littell's notion of "religious primitivism". This term is not clearly enough defined to be of great use. It can stand for "restoration" or the "restitution" of the original church. But Robert Friedmann points out:

That the Brethren sometimes refer to the church of the Apostles, so to speak as to their model, does not really indicate their restitution mindedness but should be understood rather as a way of illustration of their own intent, and perhaps also as an encouragement to continue their difficult endeavour.⁷

Other scholars have claimed that Hutterite-Anabaptism was a "biblical literalism." However, Robert Friedmann points out that the Brethren more than any other sect based their approach to the Bible on the "spiritual understanding" on the "living word that pierces the soul."⁸

Again other scholars saw in the Anabaptist movement revival movements or a "Theory of Martyrdom." While both of these elements are present in the phenomenon, they hardly represent the "essence" of Anabaptism.

Harold S. Bender, a long time student of Anabaptism, emphasized the idea of discipleship of Christ, or in German "Nachfolge Christi". Such discipleship means that the commandment of Jesus "Take up the cross and follow me", be taken absolutely seriously. The heart of this idea is the faithful and free voluntary discipleship which is accepted without faltering.⁹

Dismissing the idea of a "Theology of Salvation" as not quite sufficient to explain the Anabaptist-Hutterite phenomenon, Robert Friedmann proceeds to give his own interpretation of discipleship:

...the issue posed by the Anabaptists is whether it is possible to realize such a life of discipleship or not, in other words whether Christ's commandment to follow HIM was meant for practical realization or only as a distant ideal hardly ever

to be approximated within earthly life.¹⁰

Karl Mannheim and Robert Friedmann here arrive at essentially the same position. Both agree in defining the "essence of Anabaptism" as the practical realization of "something" here and now. That Mannheim rejects such a realization as a product of the "history of ideas" while Friedmann explicitly acknowledges such a process is immaterial for the purpose of this paper. Whether "existential" conditions or "the development of ideas" led to the Hutterite phenomenon is a secondary problem. What is of greatest sociological interest is the fact that this "something", whatever it was, became transformed into action, behavior and social structures. And such transformation of this "something" into daily actions lies at the bottom of the "meaningful-functional" integration we are concerned with.

Robert Friedmann expands his idea of the realization of discipleship in the notion of "existential" Christianity:

The term "existential" means here above all an extreme concreteness of the Christian experience. Such an experience is neither of an intellectual nature (doctrinal understanding) nor is it emotional. For lack of a better description we will call it "total", something most typical with all conversion experiences. In this total or concrete Christianity the distinctions between doctrine and ethics, belief and practice, no longer exist. Life becomes here a great "yes" to the call, something that goes far beyond both mere speculation and mere moralism. Spirituality and obedience become one and the same in such a Christian existence, an unreserved surrender and dedication to the divine will. That such Christian existence has little in common with emotionalism becomes clear by now and should make us alert not

to confound these two fundamentally different kinds of experience. (Emphasis ours.)¹¹

"Christian existentialism", as Robert Friedmann calls it, contains the unity of belief and action.

The essential quality of such unity of belief and action in the Hutterite socio-cultural system, however, remains to be explored. What were the dynamics that determined the unity of the sect?

Robert Friedmann suggests that the real essence of Hutterite-Anabaptism is obedience. Behind this term is hidden a complex social-psychological process of greatest significance:

- 1.) Obedience in the first place means conversion. Conversion implies the unreserved seeing and acceptance of what is regarded as the truth.
- 2.) Obedience on the other hand means commitment and dedication. Such commitment implies the determination to follow a defined path of actual everyday behavior whose rightness has been accepted.
- 3.) Obedience furthermore implies the submission of the individual to his group in daily participation. This submission is of a special kind.

The Hutterite sect members made a careful distinction between obedience as a "call" and obedience as a legal form of behavior. The "call" for obedience was seen as obedience in freedom and cheerful voluntarism. Legalistic obedience was regarded as "servile" (knechtisch). This was the kind of obedience demanded of a slave who knuckled under the rules and forces imposed on him. The "call" of obedience derived from and was an expression of the unity of God, man and fellow man. Obedience in this form was the realization of an ideal for the sake of this ideal. As such it constituted the dynamics of the logico-meaningful principle of integration active

in the Hutterite socio-cultural system.

- 4.) Such obedience as a "call" led to a state of "Gelassenheit". This term, which became a basic concept in Hutterite thinking, stands for a state of mind containing secured knowledge, calmness, joy, assurance and self-surrender. It is the product of a unified "Weltanschauung" that contains an irreversable commitment to the unity of God, life, man and fellow man in this world and the next. It signifies the attainment of such a unity.
- 5.) This general principle of integration or "Weltanschauung" of Hutterites had a determinate influence on the nature of the structural components that were to contain this principle as a dynamic force of organization.

In fact, the empirical organization of the Hutterite social structure reveals that the principal theme of obedience, of "spiritual and material unity between God, man and fellow man", underlies the four principal institutions within the Hutterite socio-cultural system. An empirical analysis of the institutions of the

- 1.) Gemeinschaft of believers
- 2.) Gemeinschaft of producers and consumers
- 3.) Gemeinschaft of marriage
- 4.) Gemeinschaft of education and socialization

will demonstrate this point.

The Gemeinschaft of Believers

In the first part of his "confession" Peter Rideman outlines in some detail the nature of God whose existence is seen and recognized in the works of his hands. (Ontological proof of God's existence.)

God, who is eternal truth, is the enemy of all untruth and deceit, the enemy of all that hath a false, purely outward and feigned appearance.¹²

...therefore is this one, eternal, almighty God, the one eternal and unchanging truth, which hath being in itself and remaineth eternally unchanged; which poured itself into believing souls, maketh us like, similar and conformable to itself, that we may live and walk in it and testify to the truth within us in word and life.¹³

Man, as the creation of God, is part of God and part of his truth and spirit. This unity of man and God takes the analogue of a father son relationship.

...he hath led and grafted us into the divine character and nature sealing us after we believed the gospel with the promised spirit.

...Thus the same Holy Spirit of God assureth us through the working of his strength in us that we are God's children.

...he also careth for us as a father for his children and doth shower upon and fill us with all good things. Therefore is God our father and we his children.¹⁴

The world is divided into those who live according to the truth of the father and those who reject this truth and aspire to the devil. This division of mankind was brought about by original sin. The fall of Adam brought untruth in the image of the devil into this world.

However:

This is the Father's will, that every one which seeth the son and believeth in him should not be lost but have everlasting life; and that man through faith might be planted and grafted into Christ.¹⁵

For Hutterites the grafting of an individual through Christ was a thoroughly practical matter obtainable by everyone:

This, however, taketh place as follows:
as soon as the man heareth the Gospel of
Christ and believeth the same from his
heart, he is sealed with the Holy Spirit,
as also Paul saith, "After that ye believed,
ye were sealed with the Spirit of the
promise, that is with the Holy Spirit,
which is the pledge of our inheritance, the
pledge of the redemption of us, who are his
property, for the praise of his Glory."
This Spirit of Christ which is promised and
given to all believers maketh them free
from the law or power of sin and planteth
them into Christ, maketh them of his mind,
yea, of his character and nature, so that
they become one plant and organism together
with him; he the root or stem, we the
branches...¹⁶

This quote not only characterizes the essential unity of Christ
and all believers, but also demonstrates the Hutterite view on free
will. God is predestined toward grace by his promise, it is up to
man to claim it.

Referring to the "call" of obedience, Peter Rideman has this
to say:

This is the covenant of the child-like
freedom; of which we also are the children
if we let ourselves be sealed by this cove-
nant and submit and surrender to its working...
...whom Christ thus maketh free, is free
indeed. Stand fast therefore in the liberty
wherewith Christ hath made us free, and let
not yourselves be entangled again with the
yoke of bondage.¹⁷

The community of believers according to Peter Rideman:

Community, (Gemeinschaft) however, is naught
else than that those who have fellowship have
all things in common together, none having
aught for himself, but each having all things
with others...

It is called the community of Saints because they have fellowship in holy things, yea, in those things whereby they are sanctified, that is in the Father and the Son, who himself sanctified them with all that he hath given them.¹⁸

This community of Saints is a spiritual community first and a community of persons second, Therefore, the unity of God, man and fellow man has a spiritual part and a material part. The spiritual part is expressed in the observance of the two sacraments,

1.) The Lord's Supper

2.) Baptism

and in the daily teachings which are conducted by the shepherd (Preacher).

In regard to the meaning of the Lord's supper, Rideman says:

Now in taking the bread and giving it to his disciples, Christ desireth to show and explain the community of his body to his disciples, that they had become one body, one plant, one living organism and one nature with him. As Paul interpreted it, "We who are many, are one bread and one body; we who all partake of one bread."¹⁹

Baptism is an expression of essentially the same unity of God, man and fellow man. Peter Rideman says:

Thus those who are to inherit his nature, share his fellowship and become members of his body must also be born of him, not in the human way but in the Christian way, which birth cometh about through the word, faith and Holy Spirit...
...This birth however taketh place in this wise. If the word is heard and the same believeth, then faith is sealed with the power of God, the Holy Spirit, who immediately reneweth the man and maketh him live (after he had been dead in sin) in the righteousness that standeth before God, so that the man is formed a new creature, a new man after God's likeness, or is renewed

therein. Thus, whosoever is born in this wise, to him belongeth baptism as a bath of rebirth signifying that he had entered into the covenant of grace and knowledge of God.²⁰

The conversion experience in the form of rebirth and the unreserved commitment to a new life are essential parts of baptism.

The Gemeinschaft of believers was organized by a hierarchy of authority and division of labor. This hierarchy was partly based on the Biblical model:

Paul saith that God set first apostles in the Church. These are they who are sent out by God and his Church in accordance with the command of the gospel; to go through the country and establish through the word and baptism the obedience of faith in his name. Secondly, there are bishops and shepherds who have the same office of teaching and baptizing as the apostles except that they remain in one place and care for the Church of Christ. There are also helpers who serve along with the shepherd, exhorting and calling the people to remain true to the teaching they have received. Then there are rulers who order and arrange the house or the Church, putting each in his place that everything may go properly and well. They also see that the Church is cared for in temporal distribution and are also called minister of temporal need. Lastly, there are elders who are used wherever need requireth in the Church, and who with all diligence consider the good of the Church community together with the minister seek its well-being and they help the ministers to bear the burden so that the whole Church need not be burdened with each and every matter.²¹

In this hierarchy of offices the apostles and shepherds enjoyed the highest status and the highest authority. The shepherd's powers were confined to the community and covered all aspects of the community. The apostle essentially was a wandering missionary whose role it was,

during the first decades, to make converts and to attract new groups of people to the Hutterite community. In order to understand the role of the shepherd or preacher, it must be remembered that the Hutterite shepherd never dispensed the word of God. His duty was just to spread the knowledge of God and to keep the knowledge of God awake among the believers. Likewise, he never baptized a new member in the name of God, but rather baptized him on his confession to know God and his commitment to follow God.

The difference in the Catholic and Lutheran conception of the role of preacher is crucial. The Hutterite preacher did not profess to act in the name of God in any way. With respect to baptism he actually was a community witness to the commitment of the individual.

In his preaching he again did not act as a deputy of God but rather as a communication-medium spreading the knowledge of God. Whether or not an individual was affected by the message was of real concern only to this individual and to God. The preacher's role and responsibility was to let the individual have all the relevant information about God. In offering this information and his help in teaching and interpretation, the Hutterite expressed his love and concern for his fellow man. But the last step of commitment or conversion and the attainment of faith as a manifestation of the individual's conversion was left to the individual. Hutterites explicitly acknowledged the free will of the individual and the opportunity of choice.

After an individual had made the commitment and was a member

of the Gemeinschaft of believers, the Hutterites' love and concern for each other was expressed in "watching over each other."

Watching over each other became the principal element of social control. It took the form of complete openness of individual action readily to be inspected by others. Admonition and punishment were accepted voluntarily; which formally even today is the case. The openness of action, for the inspection of the community members, exercised a tremendous control over the individual such that the deviant individual, in effect, was forced to ask for punishment, for help, or for admonition, whatever the case may have been. It is this unreserved right of the community to inspect all private actions that, to a greater or lesser degree, also became part of the communal development in China in recent decades. Among Hutterite sect members it has been a practice for more than 430 years.

Daily sermons, baptisms and the Lord's Supper were important community affairs within the Hutterite sect where the individual either made or renewed his commitment to this community. This commitment was witnessed and testified for by all the members. While sermons and teachings were conducted daily, in an ordinary room without any symbolism and little ceremonial behavior except singing, baptism and the Lord's Supper were performed once a year in a similar austere setting.

The Gemeinschaft of Producers and Consumers

The community of goods in the Hutterite socio-cultural system represented a logical extension of the basic integrative principle of

the system -- namely the unity of God, man and fellow man. Peter Rideman says:

Now, since all the saints have fellowship in holy things, that is in God, who also hath given to them all things in his Son Christ Jesus -- which gift none should have for himself, but each for the other; as Christ also hath naught for himself, but hath everything for us, even so all the members of his body have naught for themselves, but for the whole body, for all the members. For his gifts are not sanctified and given to one member alone, or for one member's sake, but for the whole body with its members.

Now since all God's gifts -- not only spiritual but also material things -- are given to man, not that he should have them for himself or alone but with all his fellows, therefore the communion of saints itself must show itself not only in spiritual but also in temporal things; that as Paul saith, one might not have abundance and another suffer want, but that there may be equality...

...Now, however, as hath been said, created things which are too high for man to draw within his grasp and collect, such as the sun with the whole course of the heavens, day, air, and such like, show that not they alone but all other created things are likewise made common to man. That they have thus remained and are not possessed by man is due to their being too high for him to bring under his power, otherwise -- so evil had he become through wrong taking -- he would have drawn them to himself as well as the rest and made them his property.²²

To implement these principles for the community of consumers, a system of redistribution in the form of a common kitchen was created. Other material goods like clothing, shelter, etc. were distributed according to needs. Individual needs were defined in terms of necessities sufficient to maintain the physical functions of organized human life. These functions were not perceived just as to maintaining life, but rather to maintaining it on an active dutiful and productive level.

The Gemeinschaft of producers actually had no biblical analogue. In the Bible, the Gemeinschaft of the Apostles lived from the sale of irreplaceable resources. Hutterites took it for granted that the central preoccupation of the community of producers was work.

Their position regarding work and commerce was summed up in these words:

We allow none of our number to do the work of a trader or merchant, since this is a sinful business;...

But to buy what is necessary for the needs of one's house or craft to use it and then to sell what one by means of his craft hath made therefrom, we consider to be right and not wrong.

This only we regard as wrong; when one buyeth a ware and selleth the same again even as he bought it taking to himself profit, making the ware dearer thereby for the poor, taking bread from their very mouths and thus making the poor man nothing but the bondman of the rich...

They say, however, "But the poor also profit in that one bringeth goods from one hand to another!"

There they use poverty as a pretext, seeking all the time their own profit first, and thinking only of the poor as having an occasional penny in their purse. Therefore we permit this not among us, but say with Paul that they should labour, working with their hands what is honest, that they may have to give to him that needeth.²³

The spirit of honest work, which radiates from this quote, symbolizes the medieval spirit of work in the various guilds before the use of credit and the establishment of monopolies led to a transformation which at the beginning of the 16th century was fairly advanced.²⁴ The collective organization of the medieval guilds with its community spirit and community organization provided a model which

perfectly fitted the notion of material equality implied in the central principle of integration.²⁵ Many of the original Hutterites came from the Tyrol where they had participated in the mining organizations of the country. The mining cities formed Gemeinwesen (communities) with a strong co-operative emphasis. The constitution of these Gemeinwesen gave voting rights to miners who were organized in a hierarchical professional organization similar to the guilds. The mines were operated under the supervision of the Bergrichter (mining judge) who had jurisdiction over the administration, the peace and the legal aspects of the mines. The individual miners acted as jurors in legal cases and had a right to be heard in questions of taxes, the appointment of administrators and other areas of policy making. Against the historical background of such co-operative social organization, Hutterites organized their Gemeinschaft of production in terms of the Master-Journeyman-Apprentice model. Their sense of spiritual and material equality was satisfied by having these three strata in the organization of labor working under one roof; working on the same product; working the same hours and receiving the same material rewards - the necessities of life. This organization of work and production was controlled by the central authority of the preacher and his assistants. Every two weeks each of the productive branches had to account for monetary and material transactions. The individual Hutterite was expected to participate in the Gemeinschaft of production in an unreserved, diligent way. This participation in the Gemeinschaft of production in fact was the major manifestation of

the individual's "call" self-surrender and obedience. The productive process, which covered the overwhelming part of the daily routine of the individual, became in fact the major objectification of the religious ideas within the sect. Such diligent participation was sometimes interpreted by contemporary observers as "work holyness". This term implied that Hutterites attempted to attain holyness through work. The exact opposite, however, was the case. Work was the expression of the attainment of some degree of holyness in the form of a "call" to the practical union of God, man and fellow man in the Gemeinschaft. Existential Christianity as Friedmann calls it, and the "Heavens right here and now" to which Karl Mannheim refers, were largely implemented into the process of production and consumption of the Hutterite socio-cultural system.

Voluntary, self-surrendering, obedient and intelligent work became the expression of an attained state of grace. This attainment was not essentially an individual one, although the individual was the carrier of such a state of mind, but this attainment was a communal one. The individual's grace was intimately intertwined with the conduct of his particular group or community. Only through the participation of all the group members could the individual obtain such a feeling in the first place. Such a mechanism, of course, placed great significance on group conduct, conformity to group standards and group control. A single individual violating the rules of the Gemeinschaft could be regarded as a threat to the group attainment, calling upon himself the full powers of control handled collectively by the

members of the group. A social setting of this sort was characterized by the absence of neutrality of behavior or ambiguous behavior. Behavior was right or wrong; it was never private but a concern of the whole group.

One of the results of such a social-psychological constellation was the focusing of the individual on the situation of the group as a whole, away from his own personal concerns and away from his family or relatives. This focusing on the whole and the neglect of other structures which might have had potentially distractive features is best demonstrated in the Hutterite conception of marriage.

The Gemeinschaft of Marriage

The unit of the family being comprised of parents and offspring did not exist in the early Hutterite social structure. Hutterites had many things to say about marriage, but they were silent about the family because the family as a meaningful-functional unit officially was non-existent.

Attempting to reconcile such "profane animal urges" as sex and procreation with the basic principle of unity between God, man and fellow man, marriage was defined in the following way:

Marriage is a union of two in which one taketh the other to care for and the second submitteth to obey the first, and thus through their agreement two become one and are no longer two but one...
...marriage is, however, in three grades or steps. First is that of God with the soul or spirit, then that of the spirit with the body, and thirdly that of one body with another, that is, the marriage of man with woman; which is not the first but the last

and lowest grade, and is therefore visible, recognizable and understood by all. Now because it is visible, recognizable and understood it is a picture, an instruction and indication of what is invisible, that of the middle and highest grades...

...Marriage must not come about through the will of the flesh, whether for the sake of beauty, youth, money, possessions or any other thing that the flesh desireth...²⁶

In actual practice, Hutterites were matched by their preachers who once or twice a year assembled the marriageable males and females in one room and presented each male (or sometimes each female) with two choices of the opposite sex. The choice left to the individual was either one of the two presented to him or no marriage for the next six months or year.

During the daily routine, husband and wife participated in their respective occupations without being in contact with each other. The meals and the daily sermons were conducted in such a way that males and females were separated. The only time when husband and wife actually were alone with each other was during the night. Living conditions in Hutterite settlements were very crowded and husband and wife lived under dormitory conditions. When a child was born the mother joined the group of nursing mothers and stayed with this group until the child was weaned. This took about 12 to 14 months. After that time she rejoined her husband and the child was handed over to the kindergarten nurses whose obligation it was to care for the physical, social and spiritual upbringing of the child.

The Hutterite conception and practice of marriage, therefore,

contained the same type of radical submission and obedience as a "call" to the high ideal of spiritual unity with God. The analogue between the spiritual ideal and the actual practice was driven to a point where even the natural bond between mother and child became limited to the essential physical functions of giving birth to a child and nursing a child. Beyond these functions it was mainly the group as the embodiment of the Hutterite ideal which performed the major functions of upbringing and socialization. Such socialization was defined in terms of helping the child to attain a sense of unity with God through exposing it to the knowledge of God and to teach it to work. The child was moved through the social structure as a participant in its respective peer group.

The Gemeinschaft of Education

The principles of Hutterite education were formulated by Peter Rideman as follows:

Our practice is as follows: as soon as the mother hath weaned the child she giveth it to the school. Here there are sisters, appointed by the Church to care for them, who have been recognized to be competent and diligent therein; and, as soon as they can speak, they lay the word of God's testimony in their mouths and teach them to speak with or from the same, tell them of prayer and such things as children can understand. With them children remain until their fifth or sixth year, that is until they are able to learn to read or write. When they are thus far they are entrusted to the schoolmaster, who teacheth them the same and thereby instructeth them more and more in the knowledge of God, that they learn to know God and his will and strive to keep the same. He observeth the following order with them: when they all come together in the morning to school he teacheth them to thank the Lord

together and to pray to him. Then he preacheth to them as children for the space of half an hour, telling them how they ought to obey, be subject to and honour their parents, teachers and those set over them, and illustrateth from the Old and New Testaments both the promise to godly and the punishment of disobedient and obstinate children.

From such obedience to parents he teacheth them obedience to God and the keeping of his will; that they should reverence him as their almighty Father, and love, honour and worship him above all things; and serve and cleave to him alone, as from whom they have all that is good. Thus we teach our children from babyhood to seek not what is temporal but what is eternal.

They remain with the schoolmaster until they reach the stage when they can be taught to work. Then each is set to the work for which he is recognized to be gifted and capable. When they have thus been educated and have learnt to know and believe in God, they are baptized upon confession of their faith.²⁷

These socializing processes have some resemblance to the education of the guardians in Plato's Republic. Detachment and freedom from material possessions was to obtain in Plato's utopia the incorruptible rulers and guardians of the state. In the Hutterite socio-cultural system the individual who was detached from material wants was to free himself wholly for the practical and spiritual unity with God and fellow man. Unlike Plato's Republic, the Hutterite socio-cultural system was no utopia but a social reality transformed into practice.

There can be no question that Hutterites, at the time when these documents were written, took these thoughts seriously and actually behaved according to these prescriptions. The status of the whole community with its various institutions is characterized by

Peter Rideman in the following words:

Thus, in those who have the right and true faith, eternal life beginneth here and now and continueth until the time to come, when only it will be properly and fully revealed. (Emphasis ours.)²⁸

Thus the Hutterite Gemeinschaft was not a way to attain eternal life but it was eternal life right here on earth. Eternal life in heaven was only a more proper and more fully revealed life, not a life essentially different in kind.

Man's unity with God after death was all spiritual. Man's unity with God on earth was spiritual and physical. With the shedding of the physical body the Hutterite freed himself from the burdens which the flesh imposed on him. The Gemeinschaft - the heaven on earth - represented that entity in which the highest possible unity under earthly conditions could be attained. It was, therefore, logical that Hutterites were not burdened by doubt and insecurity of salvation which according to Weber was the fate of the Calvinist.²⁹ The members of the Hutterite sect did not expect to be saved, but they felt that they were saved in the Gemeinschaft.³⁰

This tremendous conviction of being saved was attained through the "call" of self-restraint and obedience which the individual placed on himself. This obedience and the conviction of salvation produced an ethical behavior of an essential communal quality. It was the self-surrendering participation in the Gemeinschaft; the submergence of the individual in the goals, the ideals and the dynamics of his group that produced in him the assurance of salvation. Such participation

meant action and daily behavior not verbalization or intent only.

Summary

The processes of the ideological and structural drift that led to the formation of the Hutterite sect supplied an overview in regard to the dynamics that were activated during the emergence of the Hutterite socio-cultural system. Combining these dynamics with the findings regarding the content of the Hutterite ideological and structural integration it can be seen that content and dynamics are actually inseparable from each other. The dynamics of successive fragmentations over ideas created, in fact, the particular ideological unity in terms of its content. At the same time these fragmentations led to the objectification of the ideological content in appropriate social structures and behavioral norms.

The group members that were dynamically concerned with any of the major or minor issues mentioned fought over the meaning of these issues. Meaning meant evaluation and interpretation of any of these issues in terms of other ideas, existential conditions, or both. That different interpretations were possible is shown by the fact that these fragmentations occurred. This is to say that the body of pre-existing ideas or existential conditions to which these new issues were meaningfully to be related to were different for different people. These people sorted themselves out according to their collective choices, thus creating the fragmentations.

The elimination of alternate interpretations and evaluations of ideas within the framework of a larger pre-existing ideology constitutes the dynamics of this process. Meaningful integration of ideas is a process characterized by the progression from the unspecified interpretation and evaluation of many ideas to the specified interpretation and evaluation of selected ideas in terms of each other and in terms of pre-existing ideological and structural frameworks.

The objectification of meaning into new social structures (a process called the elaboration of the social structure in the previous chapter) in the case of the Hutterite social movement took place in togetherness with the meaningful-ideological integration. This togetherness seems to have shown the rare occurrence as togetherness in time. The dynamics leading to a unity of ideas and the dynamics of objectifying these ideas in social structures occurred at the time of these fragmentations as mentioned.

The following dynamic processes then were involved:

- 1.) The dynamics of a meaningful integration of issues and ideas moving from the unspecified to the specified interpretation and evaluation of these issues within the framework of other ideas. The dynamics involved, therefore, led toward a unified system of meanings.
- 2.) The dynamics of a meaningful-functional integration between these issues and the social structures in which these issues were objectified. The dynamics of these objectifying processes moved into the direction of structural differentiation. Different social structures, (e.g. The Gemeinschaft of believers; the Gemeinschaft of consumers and producers, etc.)

emerged to incorporate and to express the ideological unity. These processes took place in togetherness as well as being synonymous in time.

- 3.) The carriers and initiators of these dynamic social processes were people who emotionally and rationally reflected on themselves, their social and ideological position, their actions and their social system of which they were a part. Interacting with each other and influencing each other, they formed that creative, active, self-directing dynamic force that set the social process into motion and directed it toward a goal. This goal was self-determined. It was indeterministic in the sense that none of the members at the beginning of the process could visualize the final result of this process. The goal incorporated the collective result of all the influences and choices activated within the group and therefore constitutes an emergent product. The quality of such dynamic personality structure was that of conversion or "call" to an overriding duty.
- 4.) This duty finally was expressed in three different but integrated entities.
 - a.) The integrated religious-ideology of the Hutterite socio-cultural system. (Unity of God, man and fellow man.)
 - b.) The integrated social structure. (Gemeinschaft of believers, Gemeinschaft of producers, etc.)
 - c.) The integrated personality structure of its membership. (The "call" of obedience, self-surrender, dedication, etc.)

In General Systems terminology, the Hutterite ideology, social structure and personality structure were isomorphic. They were dynamically organized by the central principle of integration, - the unity of God, man and fellow man - in daily life. It was the

dynamics of this concept that produced the meaningful-behavioral-structural integration of these three entities.

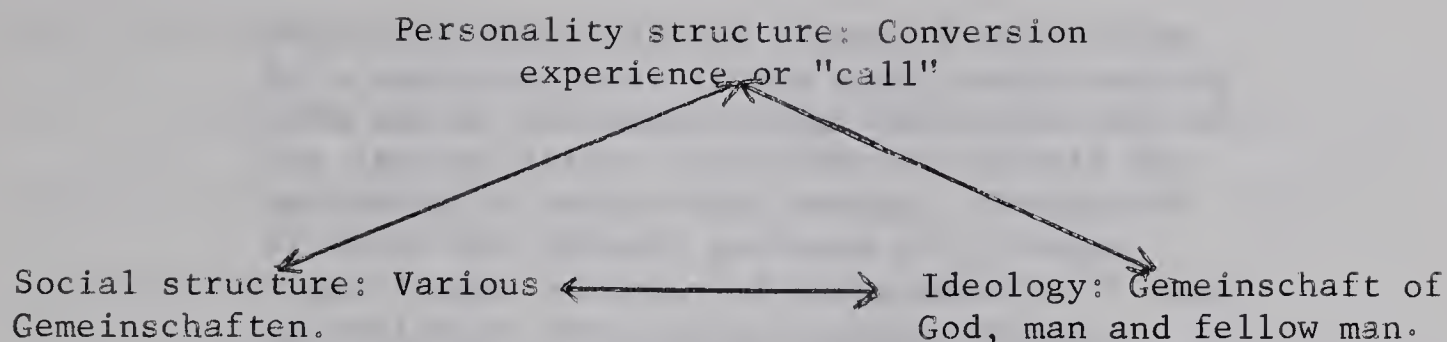
At the beginning of this chapter the intention was voiced to apply the propositions of General Systems Theory to the empirical problem of the phasing of the Hutterite socio-cultural system.

In the attempt to do so, some preliminary steps had to be taken. These steps were:

- 1.) The formulation of the central principle of integration in the Hutterite socio-cultural system.
- 2.) The formulation of the dynamic processes by which the Hutterite religious-ideological, as well as the social structural subsystems emerged.
- 3.) The demonstration of a meaningful unity (isomorphism) between Hutterite ideology, Hutterite social structure and Hutterite personality structure.

Together these three characterizations outline in some detail the starting point of investigation at the beginning of the first phase of the fluctuations of the Hutterite socio-cultural system. It is from this starting point that further dynamics in the socio-cultural system must follow logically in terms of some of the General Systems propositions and principles.

Using shorthand notations, the starting point of the investigation shows the following constellation:



The relationships between the above subsystems of the Hutterite socio-cultural system was one of logico-meaningful integration. That each of the subsystems was, in fact, integrated has been shown in some detail. Each of these subsystems was dynamically organized according to the underlying principle of the Gemeinschaft unity of God, man and fellow man. Since it was this dynamic unity of God, man and fellow man that permeated and determined the structural aspects of these subsystems, the subsystems can be called isomorphic. This is to say that the structural parts of marriage, of the Gemeinschaft of work and consumption, etc. were nothing else but the manifestations of the same organizing dynamics applied to diverse aspects of the social life.

Toward the Formulation of Hypotheses

How and in what way could these isomorphic structures change? The answer to this question, of course, depends on the changes which were generated in the dynamic part of the system. According to the principle of immanent change, change is inevitable in any of the subsystems making up the system as a whole. In accordance with the principle of limit in the directionality of social processes we said:

This is to say that the dynamic energy shown by a socio-cultural system might derive mainly from one or the other factor while the rest of the factors either facilitate or inhibit the unfolding of such social energy. But sooner or later the dynamic patterns will change. These linear patterns of development will build up obstacles and internal hurdles which facilitate a change of direction and change of emphasis in the socio-cultural system.³¹

Our investigation which led us to formulate the "starting point" of analysis has shown that the dynamic energy up to this point originated in the personality structure of the Hutterite members. It originated in the "call" for a certain quality of behavior and this quality was expressed in the social structure as well as in the body of ideas that the Hutterite sect produced. The conversion experience or the "call" which members of the sect felt as an irresistible force, constitutes the source of social energy. The social structure and the mental productions in the form of religious writings, etc. facilitated the unfolding of this conversion energy which the group emitted.

How then could this creation and flow of social energy and its subsequent facilitation in structures, etc. change? Actually there are two questions to be answered:

- 1.) In what part of the social system (values, social structure or personality) did change occur?
- 2.) What factors generated these changes?

There is no basis to predict at this point that change should have occurred primarily in one or the other part of the system. Therefore, a preliminary answer to question 1.) should be formulated

from the inspection of some data.

Once the social subsystem in which change occurred has been found, theory should be used to generate some hypotheses regarding the interplay of factors that produced the change.

The inspection of some preliminary data follows the method of eliminating possible processes of change in the system.

Let us assume that change could have been initiated either in the social structure, in the ideology or in the personality structure. By analyzing some empirical data perhaps one or the other of these factors can be eliminated. Such a procedure then would enable us to pinpoint a possible source of social change in the Hutterite socio-cultural system.

I. Assuming that change should have occurred in the social structure, what data indicate that this was or was not the case?

For more than a year following an initial period of severe persecution in 1535, the existing Hutterite group was prevented from living communally. Immediately the group adopted another social structure. It deposited its dependents (children, the sick and aged) in a central place and cared for them through contributions. The rest of the community split up into small groups of 10 to 12 men and women, hiring themselves out for work in various parts of the country. This organization was called "kuttenweis" and freely translated means "as the monks were doing". Wandering monks, of course, were a familiar phenomenon of the time.

The preachers and shepherds marched back and forth from one

group to another holding sermons and maintaining communication. When the worst form of persecution ceased about a year later, Hutterites simply went back to institute their social structure as outlined previously.

It must be concluded from this historical example that temporary dispersion (no Hutterite, in fact, knew at the time that it was temporary) and temporary disintegration of the social structure produced no significant changes. The survival of the established social structure demonstrates that the social structure was maintained by something else - the dynamic conversion energy of the Hutterite members. The lack of structural rigidity allowed Hutterites to overcome periods during which the full integration between ideology, personality and social structure could not be upheld. However, the dynamic energy within the system was perpetuated even when the structure was absent. The old structure of the group was reintroduced by the group not because this structure had attained value in itself - after all it was hardly more than three years old at the time - but because the dynamic flow of the "call" in the individuals compelled them to reintroduce this structure.

For this reason it can hardly be assumed that at this early time immanent changes within the social structure would be a source of social energy facilitating other changes.

II. Assuming that change should have occurred in the religious-ideological system, what data indicate that this was or was not the case?

Changes within the ideological system did, of course, occur. However, with the charismatic leader executed (Hutter 1536) and with an organized mechanism at work to find the charismatic successor, charisma in the group became institutionalized. This meant that the ideological changes moved into the direction of an elaboration of the existing ideology rather than into the direction of drastic changes.

It seems that the ideological framework of the Hutterite sect was well established by 1536. The major ideological premises were already clearly defined by that time. They needed to be formulated and their implications explored into various areas and details. The institutionalization of finding the charismatic successor through an election procedure resulted in the suppression of a new personal charisma. The elected charismatic successor in reality was "found". A person was "elected" first by observing the behavior of suitable members for a while; secondly the Hutterite preachers from the various settlements "elected" a person they found to be suitable; and thirdly one or several of such persons then were presented to the members of the respective community and one of the candidates elected as preacher. This person was given a probation time of several years and was finally ordained by the preachers.

Max Weber writes about such a procedure to find the charismatic successor:

Designation of a successor by the charismatically qualified administrative staff and his recognition by the community. In its typical form this process

should quite definitely not be interpreted as "election" or "nomination" or anything of the sort. It is not a matter of free selection but one which is strictly bound to objective duty.³²

Where charismatic leaders were elected to perform religious-ideological duties, little freedom in ideological matters was given. This means that the religious-creativity of these individuals was channelled to fill out and interpret an existing ideological framework. Drastic changes in the ideology leading to a new orientation of the sect were inhibited by such a method to find the charismatic successor.

III. Assuming that change should have occurred in the personality system of the sect, what data indicate that this was or was not the case?

How could the dynamic personality structure in the form of the "call" or conversion experience change?

Obviously the system had produced a distinctive personality structure through the mechanism of fragmentalization, self-selection and struggle for meaning among its members.

However, the socio-cultural system as an ongoing concern could not perpetuate forever processes of fragmentation, selectivity and struggle for meaning that produced such a personality structure.

As outlined earlier, the conversion experience or "call" consisted of a particular quality as well as content of mind. The quality of mind referred to the quality of commitment and dedication of the members toward a particular content like obedience, etc.

The quality of the "call" changed as soon as the individuals who were born and socialized in the system matured.

Socialization in this context refers to the way culture is transmitted and the individual is fitted into an organized way of life.

What, in effect, changed in the Hutterite socio-cultural system was the way in which personality structures were formed. The personality structure of the first generation was formed through the selective processes demonstrated by data presented earlier. To say that the personality structure was formed is not entirely right. The effect which these selective factors had was to select out of a larger group those individuals having a certain personality structure. It was these individuals that formed the Hutterite group.

With socialization such selective factors ceased to be operative in the system. (Save for new converts joining the group.)

The socio-cultural system could and did perpetuate the content of its personality structure, however it failed to perpetuate the quality as well. Such a process is inevitable in all socio-cultural systems. The dynamics and selective factors of conversion differ markedly from those of socialization. The personality structure of persons that create, construct and form a socio-cultural system by necessity is different from those personality structures that are the result of socialization - of being fitted to an organized way of life.

It is this change from the recruitment of the "call" to the recruitment through socialization and the resulting effects on the

personality structure of Hutterite individuals which produced the major changes in the integration of the Hutterite socio-cultural system. These changes were immanent and were a consequence of the system being an ongoing concern. The reasoning presented here is formulated in the first hypothesis:

- 1.) The quality of the personality structure in the Hutterite socio-cultural system in terms of the "call" or conversion experience changed as the recruitment of the membership changed from one of conversion into the system to socialization in the system.

Theoretically, the above hypothesis is generated through two principles of social change:

- 1.) The principle of immanent change
- 2.) The principle of limit.

The mode of membership recruitment from the "call" to socialization was immanent to the socio-cultural system of Hutterites. It was a consequence of the system being an ongoing concern. The principle of limit is utilized to express a change in direction in the development of the original type of personality structure.

The simple fact that people having a certain personality structure in common formed a group, had offspring and tried to socialize their offspring according to their own "Weltanschauung", produced change. The conversion experiences of the first generation could not be duplicated by any type of socialization in the second generation no matter how suitable the process of socialization might have been for the purpose on hand. With such changes in the personality

structure the initial integration of the system as a whole became unbalanced.

The integration of the ideology, the social structure and the personality structure characteristic for the first generation was based on the personality structure of the "call".

Such integration meant further that the system began to limit itself in respect to certain matters and closed itself for other matters. This closure was only a partial one and referred to the most important components, namely the religious-ideological and some social structural (Gemeinschaften). It remained relatively open in regard to economic and technological matters. It is not intended here to maintain the notion that integration and a closure of a socio-cultural system are one and the same thing. Integration can be followed by closure but it does not need to be. Most socio-cultural systems, of course, are not closed systems and probably no socio-cultural system is ever entirely closed. In the case of the Hutterite socio-cultural system the closure of the religious-ideological and selected social structural subsystems must be seen in the light of the empirical situation. Religiously Hutterites had isolated themselves as a sectarian system. The institutionalization of charisma enhanced this isolation. Culturally and socially it had itself been isolated from the surrounding society. This was partially due to the cultural differences between Germans and Moravians, the first being Germanic in language and custom; the others being Slavic. Some outside forces acting on the system in the form of persecution,

reinforced the isolation rather than hindering it.

The very fact that the system was integrated and partially closed produced drastic changes in the personality structure of its members. The integration and the partial closure of the system in terms of members and ideas, far from maintaining an equilibrium, generated the end of the conversion experience of the "call" of its members. By necessity, the recruitment of members did not proceed through the initially outlined mechanisms of fragmentalization, self-selection, struggle for meaning, etc., but through socialization.

With the disappearance of the "call" in the second generation a form of disintegration was injected into the system. What were the consequences of such disintegration?

If it is true that the personality structure of the Hutterite members changed as a result of the conversion experience to socialization, a number of drastic changes would be generated next within the social system.

First of all the meaning and the significance of the social structure would change. While in the first instance it was the dynamic personality structure that expressed itself in the social structure; under conditions of socialization the social structure would impress itself on the personality. This implies the reversal of the flow of social dynamics. The social structure reacted back, so to speak, on the individual and his group. Such a reversal in the flow of social dynamics was necessarily accompanied by a change in emphasis in regard to the social structure and a loss of meaning in

the system as a whole.

The change in emphasis refers to the significance which the social structure attained in the overall integration of the group. It was seen that the active and dynamic experiences of conversion, in fact, formed and created the social structure. When these experiences disappeared, the existing social structure became the "frozen" embodiment of these experiences and as such reacted back on the individual personalities. The process of socialization tended to create personalities which fitted the structure, thus reversing the dynamics and the emphasis.

That this reversal implies loss of meaning to the system as a whole is evident. The active and creative individual with conversion experience began his reasoning and his action from the adopted knowledge of the whole - the central principle of integration. The socialized individual began his movement into the social structure from the position in the structure which he occupied. He attempted (depending on the effectiveness of socialization) to move into the direction of the understanding of the whole. However, this process was necessarily incomplete. Who and how many individuals in a socio-cultural system could make these steps depended on the nature of the system and the effectiveness of its socialization process?

In essence, these two dynamic processes just outlined refer to dynamic flows:

- 1.) From a conception of the whole of a socio-cultural system to the creation of its parts.

- 2.) From a conception of its parts (individual position) to a conception of and participation in the whole.

Due to the selective dynamics that were active in the social movement phase of the Hutterite system, most or all members with conversion experience ascribed to the process outlined under one.

Due to the dynamics of the socialization process most of the members born into the system tried to proceed according to the process outlined under two.

Given the fact that the Hutterite process of socialization was quite effective for a time, one would logically expect that some members would not have been able to make enough progress to obtain a conception of the whole of the system. If this was the case, then such incompleteness in the process of socialization should be accumulative in a socio-cultural system and, therefore, should build up social obstacles and hindrances.

If this reasoning in regard to immanent changes is logically sound and acceptable in its application to social systems, the following sequence of changes becomes generated.

The loss of meaning as to the system as a whole - a logical result of the incompleteness of the socialization process - leads to a concentration of the individual on the parts (his position) which he understands and of which he has a conception. The rest, or the understanding of the whole, is partially or wholly lost. But the loss of the "meaning as a whole" is accompanied by the gain and concentration of meaning in relation and in reference to the parts (or

positions).

With an increase in "meaning around subparts of the system" the degree of interaction around these parts and subsystems increases also.

In agreement with von Bertalanffy's leading principles of differentiation and progressive mechanization, the increase in interaction around subparts leads to a differentiation within the structure and progressive mechanization of the structure. The need for centralization - to hold the parts together, emerges at this point. However, as various parts tend toward independence, the integration between parts and between the parts and the whole becomes difficult and loss of regulability and possible disintegration occurs.

The terms differentiation and progressive mechanization, of course, are synonymous with the concept of "elaboration of structure" used in earlier chapters. It would be misleading to assume, however, that the elaboration of the structure in terms of differentiation and progressive mechanization must refer to quantitative changes in the structure only (e.g. increase in the division of labor, etc.). Although such might be the case, particularly in open socio-cultural systems, in the partially closed Hutterite system differentiation and progressive mechanization must be understood in qualitative rather than quantitative terms.

Progressive differentiation and progressive mechanization in the Hutterite socio-cultural system refers to the quality or meaning which social positions attained in the minds of individuals. The

Hutterite individual who began to complain about working hours, conditions of employment, etc. had lost the ability to point out to himself the quality of participation associated with his position and his place or working role. This process signifies a loss of meaning in the system as a whole. Differentiation occurred as more and more members began to concentrate on their particular roles, positions or subsystems. Progressive mechanization was the result when these concentrations on positions, etc. became legalized through contractual relations, customs, or legal enforcement.

This reasoning can be expressed in the following hypothesis:

- 2.) As the personality structure in the Hutterite socio-cultural system changed from a concentration on the whole of the system (principle of integration) to a concentration on the parts of the system, qualitative differentiation, progressive mechanization and centralization in terms of legalistic, contractual and customary relations emerged in the system. Such new relations produced a loss of regulability of the system as a whole.

The progressive mechanization of the social structure had an accumulative effect. It seems to be one of the more interesting points to note that such accumulation could not be stopped. The loss of regulability in the system as a whole meant, in effect, that the system lost its very ability of changing the course of its own development. Loss of regulability, therefore, implied loss of self-determination.

In the case of the Hutterites this meant that legalized privileges on the part of the individuals or subgroups became so

engrained and mechanized that no attempt to dislodge these practices were in the end successful. Progressive mechanization and loss of regulability and integration of the whole characterize a process heading toward decentralization and disintegration of the system.

Since it was the Hutterite form of Gemeinschaft in which these processes occurred, the socio-cultural system inevitably had to adjust to these various pressures. Adjustment to internal pressures again meant change in the system.

Again the three principal components, ideology, social structure or personality structure, could have been changed to make the necessary adjustment. However, on the bases of the theoretical considerations outlined above, changes in the social structure were the most likely. This thinking is expressed in the following hypothesis:

- 3.) The Hutterite socio-cultural system discarded the social structure of the community of goods when the concentration of the integrative forces had completely changed from an integration into the whole of the system (the "call" of the individual oriented toward the central principle) to an integration around subsystems or positions. (The pull of the individual toward his job, status, privileges, customary rights, etc.)

Footnotes - Chapter II

¹Zieglschmid, op.cit., Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brueder, pp. 18, 24, 35.

²Peter Rideman, Account of Our Religion, Doctrine and Faith of the Brothers whom Men call Hutterites, original German Edition (1565) in British Museum, No. 3908a8. First Edition in English trans. Kathleen Hasenberg, Hodder and Stoughton in conjunction with The Plough Publishing House, 1950.

³Robert Friedmann, Hutterite Studies, Goshen, Indiana: Mennonite Historical Society, 1961, p. 224.

⁴Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, trans. Louis Wirth and Edward Shils, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, p. 211.

⁵Ibid., p. 215.

⁶Friedmann, op.cit., Hutterite Studies, pp. 22-40.

⁷Ibid., p. 27.

⁸Ibid., p. 28.

⁹Ibid., p. 30.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 31.

¹¹Ibid., p. 35.

¹²Rideman, op.cit., Account of Our Religion, Doctrine and Faith, p. 16.

¹³Ibid., p. 16.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 18-19.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 61.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 61, 62.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 68.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 42.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 85, 86.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 77, 78.

²¹Ibid., p. 82.

²²Ibid., pp. 88, 89.

²³Ibid., p. 126.

²⁴Preserved Smith, The Social Background of the Reformation, New York: Collier Books, 1962, p. 89.

²⁵Hajo Holborn, A History of Modern Germany, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959, p. 71.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 98-100.

²⁷Ibid., pp. 130-131.

²⁸Ibid., p. 45.

²⁹Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, trans. Talcott Parsons, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958, Chapter IV.

³⁰Rudolf Wolkan, Das Grosse Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brueder, Cayley, Alberta: Macmillan Colony, 1962, p. 338.

³¹Sorokin, op.cit., Social and Cultural Dynamics, Vol. IV, p.726.

³²Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organizations, trans. A.M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, New York: The Free Press, 1965, p. 365.

CHAPTER III

Presentation of Data

The Method of Studying the Problem

It has been indicated in the first chapter that the development of the Hutterite socio-cultural system can be divided into five distinct phases. The first, the third and the fifth phase were characterized by the presence of the community of goods, while the second and the fourth phase showed the prevalence of the alternate structure in the form of the community of love.

The three hypotheses postulated in chapter two attempt to depict the dynamic development characteristic for the phases during which the community of goods was in force. The fifth phase of the socio-cultural development is still under way. There are some indications that the dynamics of this phase differ from those of the first and second phase.

Regardless of these indications, the three hypotheses are regarded as applicable to all three phases during which the community of goods was in existence.

It follows that the study attempts to demonstrate whether or not these hypotheses are descriptive of the social development of each of these phases. To this extent the hypothesized processes serve as a theoretical model whose fitness in relation to empirical data is tested. Whether the model fits the empirical data or not is of equal importance to the study.

No specific hypotheses were developed for phase two and four during which the community of goods was absent. However, in chapter

two a process of selective fragmentations leading to the formation of a unified group was observed. The theoretical importance of such processes was also discussed in chapter one. It seems, therefore, that this process might be of some importance in the formation of socio-cultural systems. It would be interesting to speculate that the same or similar selective factors might have been at work during phase two and four. Since these phases ended with the re-creation of the community of goods, it is justified to postulate similar dynamics. These processes that led to the formation of the Hutterite socio-cultural system and initiated the first phase might very well have played a part in the re-creation of the system during its second and fourth phase.

Due to various circumstances the five phases of the socio-cultural development of Hutterites cannot be studied in exactly the same way.

The reason for this inability is that variables which will be followed during the first phase, for example, cannot be followed during the third phase despite the fact that both of these phases were characterized by the presence of the community of goods. Certain variables relevant for phase one change their character in a fundamental qualitative sense in phase three and five.

We will follow, for example, the changes in the variable "religious-ideological creativity" during the first phase. The frequency and the nature of such creativity is regarded as partially indicative of the personality structure of sect members. The most logical assumption

would be to assume similar forms of creativity and changes during phase three and five.

However, as it turns out, similar changes do occur but the particular content of the variable, "religious-ideological creativity" does not recur. During its first phase the sect created and elaborated a religious-ideology. During the third phase the sect revitalized an existing religious-ideology. Religious-ideological creativity and religious-ideological revitalization are quite different forms of behavior which cannot be measured by the same tools. The point is, however, that the dynamics provided by the religious creativity of the first phase were provided under different internal and external circumstances by the religious-ideological revitalization of the third phase.

Similar social dynamics are associated with dissimilar religious-ideological activities. In terms of the General Systems orientation underlying this paper, the formulation of similar dynamics under dissimilar circumstances and conditions is one of the basic aims of the paper.

The other lesson that must be drawn from this example is that the interaction of various empirical factors must be studied separately for each of the five phases. This means that the specific content of interacting factors is only of meaningful importance during one particular phase of development.

What ties the various phases together are the dynamics which we assume underlie each of the phases. Insofar as we have depicted

these dynamics in the hypotheses formulated for phase one, we are obliged to reformulate the hypotheses for phase three and five. What the "call" represented during the first phase was represented by a "spirit of revival" during the third phase.

It is through these differences that the various phases of the Hutterite socio-cultural system are distinct from each other. The three phases of the community of goods did not develop in a cyclical way. A cyclical theory of social change must be rejected simply because qualitative changes within variables have occurred which make it impossible to re-create the same conditions implied in a cyclical theory. What we maintain, however, is that the same dynamic processes occurred under different social contents. Since the various developmental phases differ in their content, different methods to study them must be employed.

The first phase of the socio-cultural development of the Hutterite sect will be studied by presenting and evaluating the fluctuations of selected variables in relation to the hypotheses. This will be done in some detail. For the study of the other four phases, an historical quick motion analysis will be conducted. Relevant processes and events will be presented and evaluated in terms of the guiding hypotheses.

This relatively loose presentation and evaluation of data is done under the full recognition which the selective bias in historical studies presents. To avoid these dangers a sequential presentation of data was adopted. The historical events which are descriptive of

ongoing processes will be presented in their chronological order. From such ordered events and happenings ongoing dynamic processes will be abstracted and compared with those dynamics formulated by theory.

The comparison of the abstracted processes with the postulated processes leads to the acceptance or rejection of hypotheses.

A few words need to be said about the difference between relationships implied in either a hypothesis or a multi-variable analysis. A multi-variable analysis postulates the interaction of several factors without making causal assumptions regarding any possible two or three way relationship. A hypothesis either makes such causal assumptions or at least assumes a correlative connection between variables.

The present study attempts to perform a multi-variable analysis. However, the crucial developments of this multi-variable analysis were formulated in hypotheses. It follows that the hypotheses are seen as highlights of a certain development. They are partial statements of ongoing processes. No causal or correlative inferences are intended to be made from them. The dynamic interaction of many factors must be seen in their respective facilitating and restricting capacities regarding the overall process. The hypotheses try to depict some of the main interacting factors, but they do by no means describe adequately the whole process.

Operationalizing the Variables used for the Analysis of Phase One.

To measure in this paper means to follow empirical trends.

The analysis proposed in this paper will concentrate on the evaluation of fluctuations of variables and their respective relations to each other over time, rather than trying to interpret any static relationship between variables at a particular time of development.

The following variables are part of the proposed multi-variable analysis:

1.) Mode of recruitment of Hutterite membership.

This variable can take two forms:

- a.) conversion experience or "call"
- b.) socialization.

Although these two categories are exclusive to each other, it cannot be assumed that the whole membership of the Hutterite socio-cultural system at any time could be classified as either being recruited through conversion or socialization. This is only true with respect to particular individuals, not the system as a whole. Therefore, this variable should logically be expressed in terms of a trend showing the proportionate increase or decrease in one or the other category.

The two categories of socialization and conversion are indicative of closed or open systems. The closedness or openness here refers to the recruitment of members only. A system which totally depends on socialization for recruitment of members is regarded as closed. A system which takes in members from the outside can be considered open or partially open.

The second variable to be included in the analytical system consists of:

2.) The religious-ideological creativity of the
Hutterite sect.

This variable is measured in terms of the religious-ideological productions of the group and contains the following indicators:

A.) Songs and Hymns

- a.) The number of songs and hymns per decade 1536-1700.
- b.) The number of song composers per decade 1536-1700.
- c.) The volume of songs and hymns composed per decade
1536-1700.

B.) Religious-Ideological Writings

- a.) Dogmatic and apologetical writings per decade
1536-1685.
- b.) Epistles per decade 1536-1685.
- c.) Exegetical writings per decade 1536-1685.

In addition to the quantitative fluctuations of these above mentioned indicators, a qualitative analysis will be performed. Such an analysis will make use of various information relevant to the production of religious writings. An attempt will be made to generalize these various quantitative and qualitative indicators as to their dynamic characteristics.

The third variable to be included into the system of analysis is:

3.) The social structural (behavioral) creativity of the
Hutterite sect.

The community of goods was the prevalent formal social structure throughout the first phase in which we are interested at the moment.

Although the third hypothesis of this paper states that the community of goods broke down at the end of this first phase, the existence of this formal structure must be regarded as constant during phase one.

What we are really concerned with, however, are the structural-behavioral changes that took place within the community of goods. These changes were changes of a qualitative character and the nature of some of these qualitative changes was expressed in our second hypothesis. Such postulated structural changes as differentiation and progressive mechanization took place within the formal structural setting of the community of goods. Differentiation did not result into a greater division of labor, - the division of labor in Hutterite settlements remained relatively constant over the time period mentioned. What the term differentiation tries to express is the concentration of the individual's orientation around positions, roles, occupations, statuses, etc. Such concentration of the individual's orientation around subsystems stood in contrast to the ideological, religious, moral and economic orientation concentrated around the system as a whole.

How can such a process be measured? Some crucial distinctions must be made before this question can be answered.

The following discussion attempts to pinpoint those parts of the Hutterite social structure where changes could logically be expected.

In an earlier discussion it was said that the Hutterite social

structure was not built in a social vacuum. Previous individual and group occupations, notions of communal organizations, norms and customs which existed throughout pre-Hutterite times, were built into the social structure which finally emerged within the group. These pre-existing norms and notions had a general cultural character rather than a specific Hutterite religious-ideological one. The final social structure of the Hutterite sect was, in fact, a mixture of transformed religious experiences and ideals into social structures on the one hand and perpetuated general cultural characteristics on the other hand.

An example touched upon shortly in an earlier chapter might illustrate the distinction made here.

The particular religious-ideological conception of fellowship with God, man and fellow man in the Hutterite socio-cultural system, which translated itself into the structure of the various *Gemeinschaften*, found a fertile cultural counterpart in the structural and ideological elements of the Guilds. Most Hutterites were, in fact, members of Guilds and it can be safely assumed that all were thoroughly familiar with the Guild system. Insofar as the conception of differentiation (hierarchy of offices) or the equality of work conditions, etc. was concerned, the Hutterite religious-ideological and general cultural notions prevalent in the classes from which Hutterites were mainly recruited, met and merged perfectly. The same, of course, was true with respect to the division of labor. The Hutterite settlements incorporated most of the crafts which were found in the general culture of

the time.

It was a different story altogether when it came to such Hutterite religious-ideological objectifications as the complete absence of private property among the members of the sect. For this pattern of behavior there existed no general cultural counterpart. Structural patterns of such a nature had to be maintained by the individual's commitment to religious-ideological ideals. The individual either saw in such behavior a significant value or he did not, depending on the quality of his belief. The same was true with respect to such religious-ideologically determined restraints, restrictions and regulations regarding marriage, family living, courtship, child raising and asceticism in daily consumption.

If the individual's "call" in the Hutterite socio-cultural system would undergo a drastic change as the result of a change from conversion experience to socialization, one would expect that his acceptance of those structural-behavior patterns which had a purely religious-ideological background would also change. In other words, as the quality of the "call" declined, the deviation in those behavior patterns that attained meaning and significance only when a person ascribed to the "call", should increase.

The basic assumption is that the individual who had lost the understanding of the meaning of these restrictions would have tried to remove these restrictions. Furthermore, since these restrictions and their meaning referred to the integrative principle of the socio-cultural system, such deviation and loss of meaning of the whole would

produce changes of the system as a whole.

Having located the structural behavioral parts where deviation (change) can be expected, the next question is where to obtain the data and how to measure the data. Fortunately the Hutterite socio-cultural system produced an unbroken record of such deviant changes in the form of "Gemeindeordnungen".

During the first phase (1536-1685) some 35 "Gemeindeordnungen" (community ordinances) were either drawn up as new ordinances or were re-issued in modified or extended form.

In the main, four great Vorsteher distinguished themselves in drawing up Gemeindeordnungen: Peter Walpot 1565-78, Klaus Braidl 1583-1611, Sebastian Dietrich 1611-19, and Andreas Ehrenpreis 1639-62, but actually leading the brotherhood since 1633. Although the first named two men contributed much to this tradition, the great Ordnungen were yet to come: Dietrich's general ordinance of 1612 (which fills 22 leaves in one manuscript) and Ehrenpreis' general ordinance of 1651 (which fills 14 pages folio size small print of the Klein-Geschichtsbuch, 519-32.)...
...It contains a comprehensive instruction which touches practically every aspect of life, stern in character and yet with a loving concern...
...The Ordnung of 1651 contains actually a complete "philosophy of life" in the minutest detail, and for that reason deserves particular attention.¹

Many of these ordinances were written in point form. The first part of the statement usually contains an outline of the right kind of behavior followed by a description of the wrong kind of behavior.

Sometimes these statements are followed by a justification of "why" the undesirable behavior should be abandoned and the desired

behavior re-adopted. Most often, however, a summary justification for the right kind of behavior is either given at the beginning or the end of the ordinances. Some of the ordinances are repetitious and view a particular violation from various points of view (e.g. a craftsman who treated his tools as his property violated the religious regulation of the "no property rule", but he also set a bad example for the young people if he was an older man.).

Due to the length of these 35 ordinances and due to many repetitions, a combined quantitative and qualitative analysis will be made.

The quantitative indicators will contain the following:

- 1.) Frequency of Gemeindeordnungen issued or re-issued according to decade 1536-1685.

- 2.) Frequency and type of Gemeindeordnungen issued or re-issued according to decade 1536-1685.

The "type" of Gemeindeordnungen refers to the applicability of the individual Ordnungen to the various Gemeinschaften. (Gemeinschaft of production, etc.)

In addition to the presentation of quantitative indicators, a qualitative analysis of the Gemeindeordnungen will be made. Such an analysis will attempt to draw inferences from the frequency and type of deviation which occurred. It will attempt to formulate the dynamic character of the changes that occurred for each of the Gemeinschaften.

In addition, the following variable forms part of the analysis:

4.) Division of Labor in the Hutterite sect.

Although the division of labor in terms of numbers of occupations remained relatively constant, the various relations between occupations underwent drastic changes which were of great significance for the development of the system as a whole.

The next variable is:

5.) Type and degree of external relations between
the Hutterite group and the host societies.

This variable will be mainly concerned with the relations that pertained between Hutterites and their religious, economic and social external environment.

The last variable to be included in the analysis refers to the:

6.) Numerical growth or decline of the Hutterite
sect.

The following indicators are included:

- a.) Estimate of the number of Hutterite
settlements 1536-1967.
- b.) Estimate of the number of persons belonging
to the Hutterite sect 1536-1967.

While the other variables mentioned above will only pertain to the first phase, the population estimates will refer to the whole length of the Hutterite socio-cultural development from 1536 to 1967.

VARIABLE ONE:

Mode of Recruitment of Hutterite Membership

The first wave of individuals who recruited themselves for the Anabaptist-Hutterite movement left their homelands in Southern Germany and the Tyrol in the wake of the Peasants War of 1525. Since most of the Hutterite members who formed the original group as it existed in 1535 came from the Tyrol, a short characterization of these people might be in order.

The social upheaval of the Reformation exercised a more profound influence in the Tyrol than in most other German countries. The peasant movements in Southern Germany were unable to produce a significant leader who would have succeeded to unify the sporadic uprisings that occurred in the country. In contrast the Tyrol produced such a leader in the person of Michael Gaissmaier. This former clerk of the Bishop of Brixen went far beyond the usual complaints of the peasants and, in fact, drew up a new constitution for the Tyrol. He visualized a theocracy - a Christian state based on the word of God. The first step to reform the country consisted of the formation of a "Christian University" where the justice of God was to be preached in all purity. Three of the University teachers were to sit in the government and were empowered to make decisions according to the order and word of God.

The tenth was to be converted to the welfare of the classes without income. The government of the local princes was to be

abolished. Cloisters and castles were supposed to be used as hospitals. The walls around cities were to be torn down and all cities converted to villages. All craftsmen were to be settled in one part of the country and their products sold under government supervision on a cost plus labor basis. Mercantilism and urbanism, the source of all scarcity and famine, was to be forbidden. The mines were to be nationalized and their profits used to run the government.

While the Peasant War in Southern Germany lasted only for several months during the year of 1525, Gaissmaier and his Tyrolean supporters fought for the realization of their program for two years until they were finally defeated in 1527.²

After the military attempt to establish a "Christian Peasant Republic" in the Tyrol failed, the Anabaptist movement began to spread in the Tyrol. What Gaissmaier had expressed in his political program regarding the establishment of a new "Christian Social Order" found its expression among the Anabaptists in religious ideas.

When the Anabaptist movement became subject to severe persecution in the Tyrol, many adherents of this movement escaped persecution by migrating to Moravia. It is these migrants which, after further selective processes, formed the first Hutterite community.

The convictions which these migrants had were of an immense intensity. Many of them left their property and their children behind. Those who were caught and executed had no horror of death but welcomed their executioners. Some even reported themselves to the authorities;

rarely was one converted back to Catholicism; nearly all who were caught wished to die for their faith.³

However, such human material was produced only for a short period after the initial upheaval of the Reformation. It was greatest between 1527 and 1535. By 1541 a quarrel had arisen between the communal settlements in Moravia and the Anabaptist congregations in the Tyrol which led an underground existence. This quarrel finally became unbridgeable and the communal organizations in Moravia and the Anabaptist organizations in the Tyrol parted their ways.⁴ With this event the most important organized and continuous source of potential recruits was cut off from the Hutterite communities in Moravia. Further converts in the Tyrolean home country had to be made through individual persuasion.

The existence of the Anabaptist-Hutterite communities in Moravia issued a tremendous appeal to certain people during the first few years after the Peasant War. As the social and religious conditions in the home countries changed, this appeal became less and less intense. With the changing appeal, the number and quality of converts joining the system declined.

František Hrubý⁵, who investigated the Hutterite population growth between 1535 and 1622, supplied the following figures.

During the year 1545 the Hutterite population consisted of about 2,000 adults. About one third should be added to allow for the children. The total count of the Hutterite population in 1545 then was around 2,700 persons.

Using the tax returns of Hutterites for his population estimates, Hrubý comes to the conclusion that in 1589 the Hutterite population had grown to a total number of 8,000 persons. The population, therefore, had tripled in 44 years.⁶ Such a rate of natural increase was hardly possible under the conditions of the time. However, it is perceivable that the population of 1545 at least had doubled through natural increase. This means that roughly half of all living Hutterites in 1589 were born and socialized in the system while the rest had joined the system as converts.

The population estimates of Hrubý for the year 1622 amount to 13,500 Hutterite members. This represents an increase of 5,500 persons in 33 years or a 68% increase over the population of 1589. Compared with the tripling of the population during the previous 44 years, the population increase is much less. The assumption, therefore, is justified that the intake of converts declined rapidly after 1589 or probably even earlier. The 68% increase of the population in 33 years could have been possible through natural increase.

During the two decades from 1540 to 1560, various Anabaptist splinter-groups in Moravia and the Southern part of Germany joined the Hutterite sect in Moravia. These people had a similar social and religious background as the Hutterites and had made similar experiences. Due to the fact that these groups were formed roughly at the same time as the Hutterite group, the age composition of these groups was also similar to those of the Hutterites. This means that the generation which had founded the splinter-groups likewise initiated the merger

with the Hutterite group.

During the following decades converts to the Hutterite faith were made through missionary activities. Such activities were mainly based on the persuasion of individuals. During the decade 1580 to 1590 several hundred immigrants from Switzerland joined the Hutterites.⁷ These immigrants, however, were driven toward the Hutterite communities by famine rather than by spiritual appeal. Hutterite records of the times note that these people were accepted because they expressed the willingness to conform to the religious and social norms. While Hutterites usually were jubilant about true converts to their faith they were less than enthusiastic about accepting these immigrants.

From 1590 to 1622 again converts to the system were made mainly through the activities of wandering missionaries. However, due to the war disturbances which began in 1593, the inflow of converts declined and reached practically zero after 1622.

The mode of recruitment of Hutterite members between 1527 and 1622 is characterized by two processes:

- 1.) The number of converts joining the Hutterite sect declined constantly.
- 2.) The quality of converts joining the Hutterite sect declined constantly.

The conclusion is that the Hutterite population of 1622 was overwhelmingly born in the system and socialized in the system.

The overall trend in the mode of recruitment of Hutterite members between 1527 and 1684 appears as follows:

1.) During the initial group forming period all members of course were converts save for children and younger people that accompanied their parents. The "call" of these people was of the highest quality.

2.) During the period around 1580 approximately 50% of the Hutterite population consisted of converts and 50% consisted of members being born and socialized in the system. The quality of the "call" of converts joining the system was inferior to that of the initial period.

3.) During the period around 1622 the overwhelming majority of the Hutterite population was already born and socialized in the system. Few individuals still joined the system and their "call" was of a low quality.

4.) During the final period from 1630 to 1685 hardly any new converts were attracted to the system. For all practical purposes all persons were born and socialized in the system.

VARIABLE TWO:

Religious-Ideological Creativity

The Sources:

Serious historical and material studies of the Hutterite branch of Anabaptism began around 1880 with Dr. Josef Beck's book: "Die Geschichtsbuecher der Wiedertaeufer in Oesterreich-Ungarn."⁸ (The history books of the Anabaptists in Austria-Hungary.) Up to that time the Anabaptist-Hutterite phenomenon was hardly known historically or was often swept aside as an insignificant heretical movement not worthy of the attention of serious historians. With Dr. Beck's publication and research this attitude changed. Professor Johann Loserth, who acquired the Beck collection after the death of Dr. Beck, was the second scholar who contributed to the knowledge of Hutterites through various books and articles.⁹ His work was continued by Professor Rudolf Wolkan who collected and published Hutterite writings. His contribution became particularly well known through his research and collection of Hutterite songs.¹⁰

Professor Robert Friedmann was the fourth historian who spent a life-time collecting, studying and classifying Hutterite data. In 1923 Professor Wolkan introduced him to the field of Hutterite studies. During the following 40 years he published numerous articles on Hutterite literature and Hutterite manuscripts. He climaxed his work by investigating every known piece of historical and literary material and published his findings in the extraordinary work: "Die Schriften der Hutterischen Taeufergemeinschaften."¹¹ (The written

works of the Hutterite Gemeinschaften.)

In the meantime other scholars had discovered the richness of Hutterite literary and historical writings. Among them were Wilhelm Wiswedel,¹² Lydia Mueller,¹³ A.J.F. Zieglschmid,¹⁴ John Horsch,¹⁵ Harold Bender,¹⁶ and others.

As source for the analysis of Hutterite song productions serves the book: "Die Lieder der Hutterischen Brueder."¹⁷ This publication in turn is based on three historical collections. The first is a collection of 165 songs written before 1578. The second source consists of 140 songs with additions up to 1662. The third source contains 80 songs and covers the whole first phase of Hutterite development up to the time after 1660. In addition to these three sources various Hutterite brethren have searched diligently the great number of handwritten songbooks owned by sect members and have included in the publication all songs that could be traced to a Hutterite author. For the purpose of the present analysis, songs that were produced before 1535 were not included.

The analysis of the literary productions of Hutterites is based on Professor Robert Friedmann's comprehensive catalogue of Hutterite literary productions.

This work is without doubt not only the most extensive account ever written about Hutterite mental productions, but is also the best organized and best researched product in the field. Professor Robert Friedmann made every attempt to classify Hutterite writings as to content, time of production and, where possible, authorship.

It is these categories which make his work particularly useful to the sociologist.

However, Professor Friedmann as an historian has been primarily interested in ordering and classifying physical objects in the form of books. His second interest refers to the spiritual-theological interpretation of their content.

Of course, all historical research begins with the ordering and classification of historical recordings. At the same time it is clear that there exists a difference between an historical record in the form of a book and the mental product which is contained in it. A book, for example, might be written or rewritten in the seventeenth century expressing a mental process that took place in the sixteenth century. Since the present analysis is concerned with the nature of the religious-ideological creativity of the Hutterite sect, attention is paid to the content of books not to the classification of such books. Most of the early Hutterite writings are known through later copies of the various originals. While Professor Robert Friedmann paid great attention to the particular codices often containing a conglomerate of writings, the organization with which the Hutterite religious-ideological creativity variable is presented in the present analysis is of a different kind.

The presentation of the literary data proceeds in three steps:

1.) Outline and definition of major categories

of religious-ideological writings.

2.) The fluctuations of these categories.

- 3.) The dynamic processes associated with
the type of writing and its fluctuations.

Songs and Hymns

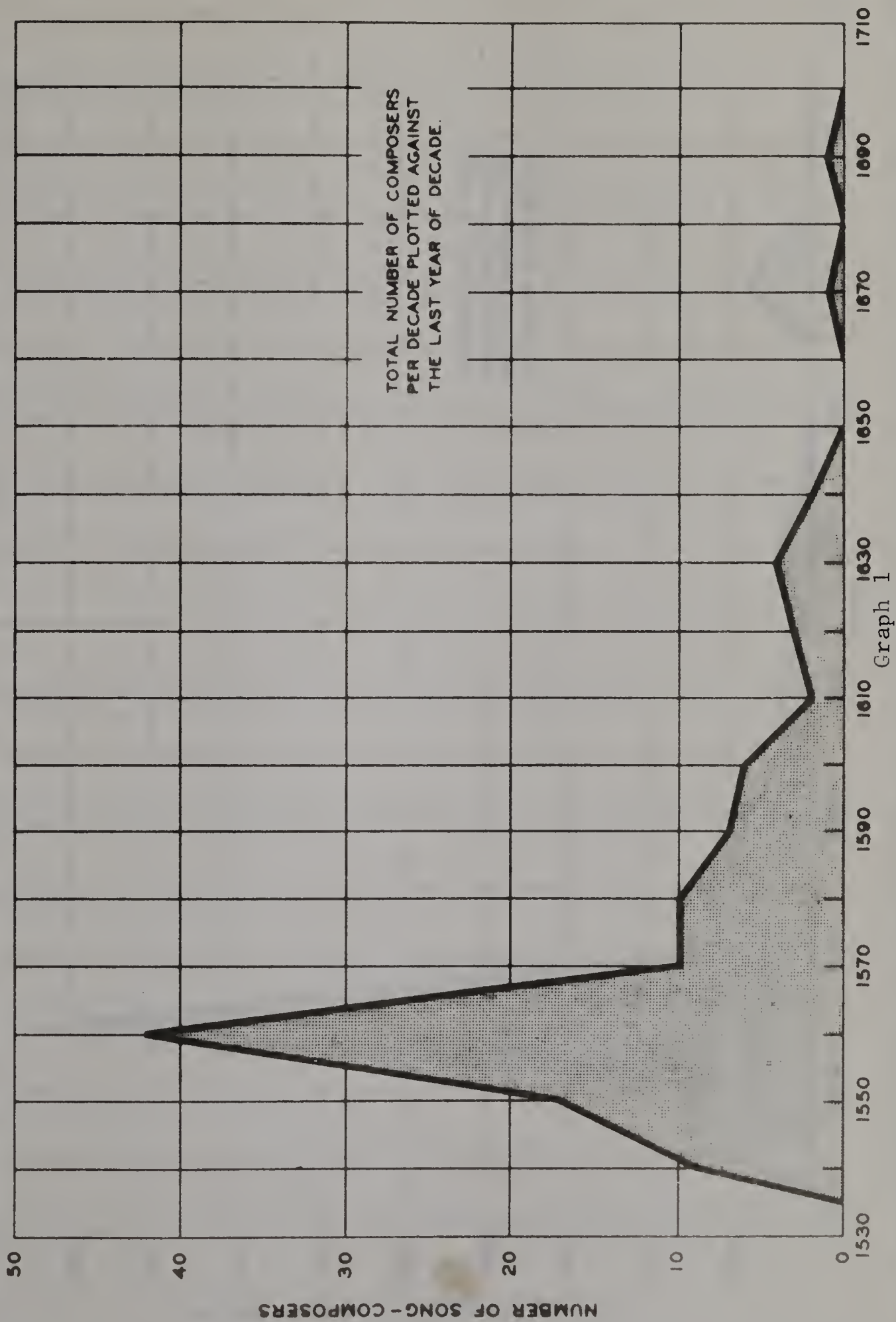
The Fluctuations in the Production of Songs and Hymns

Graphs 1, 2, and 3 (see next 3 pages) display essentially the same general patterns. The production of songs and hymns in the Hutterite sect was greatest during the life-span of the first generation and dropped sharply thereafter. Qualitatively, the production of songs and hymns is typically associated with certain experiences of those members who composed songs.

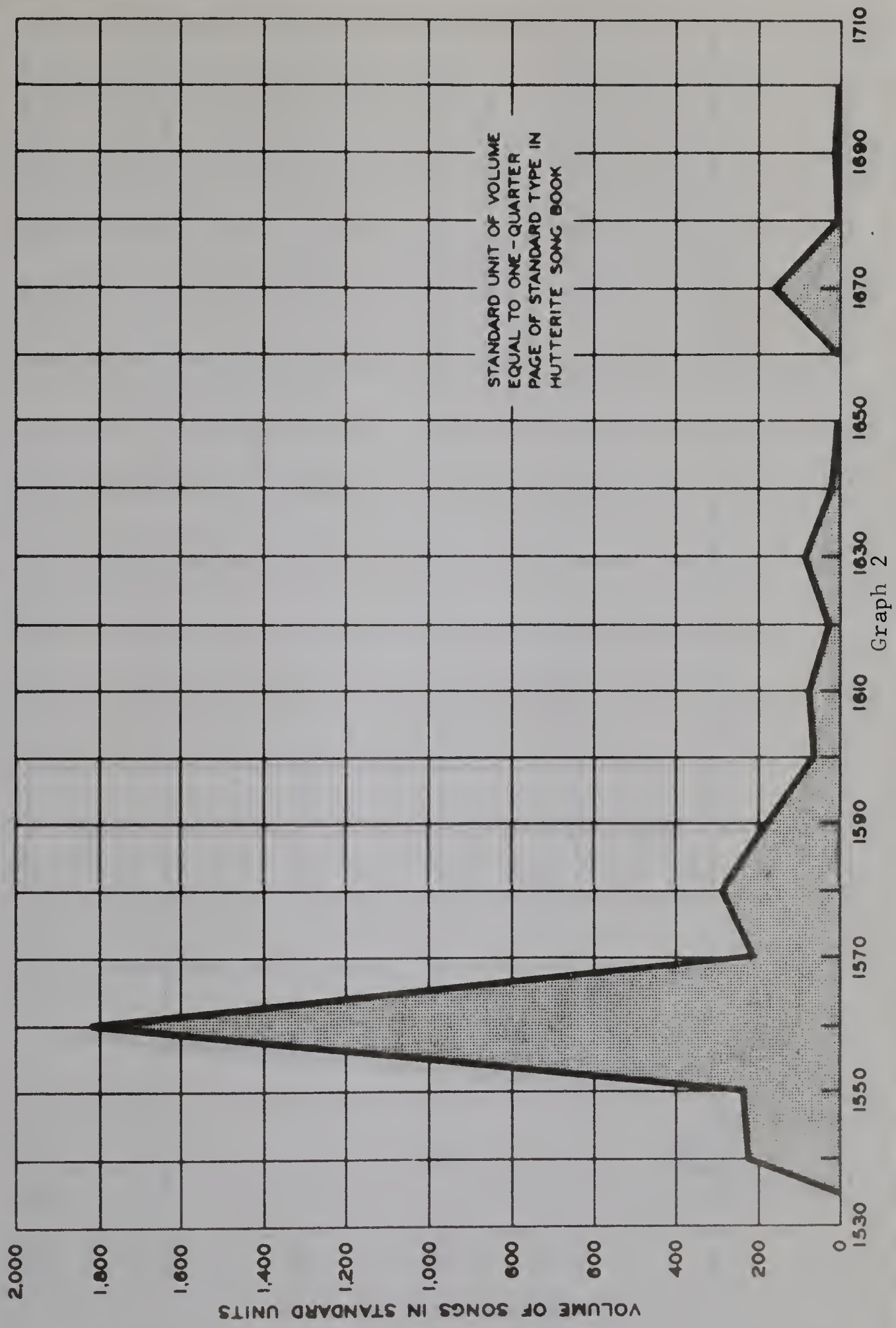
The two most important experiences are those of conversion and martyrdom. It is these occasions that time and again led to a tremendous emotional outburst that found its expression in songs. Conversion experiences were reflected in the spirit of testimony and defiance. Martyrdom reflected itself in songs written in prisons or as the result of executions. These songs testified to the unwavering faith of the victim and gave comfort and courage to those to whom the songs were dedicated.

A third factor in the production of songs is of a devotional nature. Hutterites acquainted themselves with biblical events by interpreting them in songs. In so doing parallels were drawn between biblical events and everyday affairs. Hope, justification, explanation and meaning of contemporary events were elicited in this way from biblical analogues.

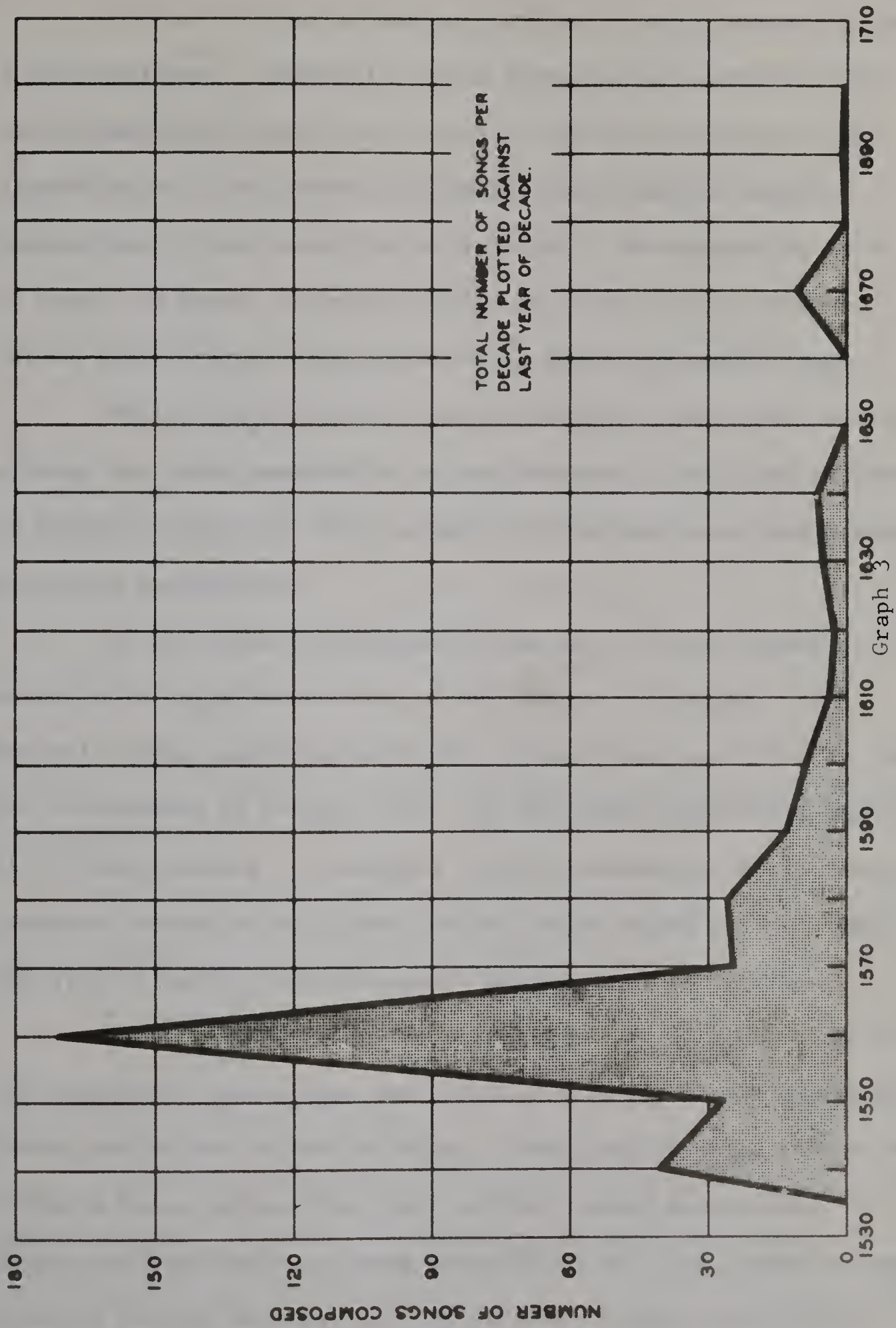
NUMBER OF HUTTERITE SONG - COMPOSERS IN THE WORLD BY DECADE: 1535 - 1700



VOLUME OF HUTTERITE SONGS COMPOSED IN THE WORLD BY DECADE: 1535 - 1700



NUMBER OF HUTTERITE SONGS COMPOSED IN THE WORLD BY DECADE: 1535 - 1700



A fourth factor in the production of songs appears in the form of ballads. Information about historically relevant events was transmitted in the form of songs. The destruction and the plundering of a settlement, for example, was told for future generations in the production of a ballad. The expressive value of songs and hymns, therefore, could be found in the everyday social and spiritual experiences which Hutterite members made.

While such experiences persisted for at least part of the growing Hutterite membership, it was dominantly the first generation of Hutterite converts who were able to translate such experiences into song productions.

In the later productions of the sect a trend toward a descriptive narrative content of ballads is noticeable. Early Hutterite song composers never were unsure about their faith, their God, attainment of heavens, etc. In the later productions doubt as to these matters is sometimes tacitly expressed. While the early composers needed no help from God and seldom asked for more than the gift of faith, later composers expected God to interfere.

The fluctuations in the productions are so great that one can reasonably assume that the creative experiences associated with these productions reflect a dynamic underlying reality. There is a definite break between the first and the second generation. A suspicious correlation of song productions with the intake of new converts is also noticeable. The decline of song productions is constant and reaches zero with the closure of the system in terms of

new members. It is revived only through the productions of one man, Bishop Andreas Ehrenpreis, who composed most of the songs of the later period. Some of his song productions interestingly enough are not concerned with problems facing the Brotherhood at that time but with the glorification of events that happened during the initial period of the sect.

All these indicators point to a development where the first generation provided the spiritual spark and where formalization set in with the second generation socialized in the system. In the end the system traditionalized by looking back for inspiration and guidance rather than receiving such inspiration and guidance out of its struggle with religious and social affairs of the contemporary scene.

1.) Outline and Definition of Major Categories of Hutterite Religious Writings.

From Professor Robert Friedmann's collection, the following three empirical categories can be abstracted:

- 1.) Dogmatic and apologetic writings.
- 2.) Epistles.
- 3.) Exegetical writings.

He mentions some minor categories like Konkordancen, Prayers and Katechisms. However, the frequency of these productions is so low that a presentation of these data has little or no analytical value considering the time dimension involved.¹⁸

The sociological significance of the above mentioned categories derives from the following definitions.

The category of dogmatic and apologetical writings refers to those religious productions which state or expand on the fundamental religious position of the Hutterite sect. Included in this category are those works which became emphasized in the sect and were regarded by sect members as statements outlining their religious-ideological position.

The term "Epistles" refers to letters written by members of the sect. Many of these letters consist dominantly of religious-ideological statements. They were written by absent or imprisoned members to their relatives; by preachers for the comfort of their distant communities or by apostles attempting to encourage prospective converts. It is through such letters that the Hutterite belief was communicated between various individuals. The production of these letters is indicative of a widespread religious-ideological creativity of grass-root members.

The category "Exegetical writings" refers to manuscripts which were designed to serve as sermons or rituals. As was noted in the discussion on Hutterite religious convictions, the sect emphasized the "living word". Free prayers and free teachings on the part of the preachers were emphasized for a long time. It was the "understanding" and the "knowing" of the individuals rather than any ritualistic preaching that formed the basis of early Hutterite religious exercises. In contrast, exegetical writings refer to

religious productions, mostly sermons, which were formalized and ritualistic in nature. An increase in the frequency of such productions is indicative of an increase in the formalized and ritualistic religious exercises.

2.) The Fluctuations of the Categories.

A. Fluctuations of dogmatic and apologetical writings.

There are only a few dogmatic, apologetical writings outlining the fundamental position of the Hutterite sect. These are:

- 1.) 1540-41, Peter Rideman's Confession of Faith.
- 2.) 1545, The religious disputation with the Gabriel brethren. The protocol of this disputation is concerned with five fundamental positions: Baptism, Gemeinschaft; Marriage; Worldly authorities; Priests; (Catholics) and False Brethren.
- 3.) 1547, "The Five Articles of the Greatest Conflict Between us and the World". The five fundamental articles with which the book deals are: 1.) Baptism, 2.) The Lord's Supper, 3.) Gemeinschaft and Gelassenheit, 4.) The Sword (non-violence), 5.) Marriage and Divorce.
- 4.) 1557, "Handbuechlein wider den Process, der zu Worms am Rhein wider die Brueder so man die Hutterischen nennt, ausgangen ist im Jahr 1557." (Handbook rejecting the accusations made against Hutterites

in the City of Worms at the River Rhine in the year of 1557). This document is the official pronouncement of the Hutterite sect, prompted by a document which some Lutheran theologians, Melanchthon, Brenz Andrea and others had issued at Worms in 1557.¹⁹ The Handbook contains twelve sections pertaining to the following points: 1.) Worldly authorities, 2.) The use of the law and the courts, 3.) The taking of the oath, 4.) Concerning the claim that whoever does not belong to the Gemeinschaft is condemned and not saved, 5.) Baptism, 6.) The Lord's Supper, 7.) Original sin, 8.) Concerning the necessity to preach and to hear the word of God, 9.) Concerning the Holy Trinity, 10.) Concerning whether rebirth prevents any backsliding thereafter, 11.) Concerning justification, whether man is justified through Christ or by his own endeavour, 12.) Concerning the upbringing of children in communal establishments.²⁰

5.) 1561, Refutation und gruendliche Widerlegung etlich Lesterungen wider die Gemeindt Christi." (Refutation and thorough disproof of accusations against the community of Christ). This work outlines in 26 articles the basic position of Hutterites. Most of

these articles are the same as the ones outlined before. There is some evidence that this work is similar or the same as "Anschlag und Fuerwenden der blinden verkehrten Welt" (The intent and the plot of the blind, wrong world) which was attributed to the Hutterite bishop, Peter Walport who probably wrote it in 1576-78.²¹

- 6.) 1560, "Bericht und Bekenntnis etlicher Glaubensartikel der Brueder so man die Hueterischen oder Maehrischen nennt." (Report and Confession regarding some articles of faith of the brethren which are called the Hutterites.) Professor Robert Friedmann assumes that this work was the result of a disputation between the joining Swiss Brethren and the Hutterites in 1560.
- 7.) 1556, "Bruederliche Vereinigung zwischen uns und etlichen Schweizer Bruedern 1556/57 auch genannt: Rechenschaft sieben Article halber." (Brotherly merger between us and some Swiss Brethren 1556/57. Also called: Confession regarding seven articles of faith.) A similar confession was drawn up in 1560 between another group of converts and the Hutterite brethren. The second confession contains

17 articles of faith.

- 8.) 1577, "Ein schoen lustig Buechlein etliche Hauptartikel unseres Christlichen Glaubens."

(A beautiful and pleasant little book concerning the main articles of our faith).

This work, which probably was written by the Hutterite bishop, Peter Walport, contains the dogmatic and apologetic writings mentioned under 2 and 3. It summarizes the various positions taken in earlier statements.

Professor Robert Friedmann remarks that this "Article Book", as it became known, was the most important dogmatic work beside Peter Rideman's "Confession of Faith" of 1540.

About 24 handwritten manuscripts containing all or parts of the original work are still available today. This testifies as to the importance which this work attained in the sect.

- 9.) Around 1600, "Vom Tod, juengsten Gericht, von hoellischer Pein und von der himmlischen Freud."

(About death, the last judgment, hell and heavenly joy.)

- 10.) 1652, "Sendbrief die Bruederliche Gemeinschaft das hoechste Gebot der Liebe betreffend."

(Epistle referring to the brotherly Gemeinschaft,

the highest commandment of love.) This work refers to the following points: 1.) Gemeinschaft, 2.) The Lord's Supper, 3.) Greediness, 4.) Greedy arguments, 5.) The blindness of the learned, 6.) The proper order in the Gemeinschaft ordered according to the following points:

- a.) No return of material goods to those that defect from the Gemeinschaft.
- b.) About punishment and exclusion.
- c.) About missionary work.
- d.) About the education and socialization of children.
- e.) Marriage with outsiders.
- f.) About God, Christ, the Holy Ghost and their nature.²²

This list of dogmatic writings is not complete without mentioning the many individual confessions which were made by Hutterite martyrs. Most of these confessions were made between 1530 and 1590.

Looking at these dogmatic and apologetic writings from the point of view of their fluctuations, one must note immediately that most of these writings were produced during the first 30 years of the existence of the Hutterite sect. The concentration of dogmatic and apologetic works during the first 30 years must be seen in its dynamic aspects.

The dynamic processes associated with dogmatic apologetical writings.

What are the dynamic processes associated with the production of dogmatic and apologetic writings?

There are actually three processes:

- 1.) Conversion experiences leading to individual confessions which consequently attained dogmatic value.
- 2.) Disputations with prospective converts. This implies that the Hutterite religious-ideology was in active contact with similar but slightly different groups. It shaped its own beliefs and dogmas by struggling with them for clarification and meaning.
- 3.) Defence against accusations from the outside world. This implies that the Hutterite sect still saw itself as part of a larger world. The need to defend the group against accusations was not a need determined by physical advantages or necessities but it took the form of a spiritual struggle. This struggle again shaped and clarified the Hutterite position.

All three processes imply that the Hutterite sect was an open system, taking in new members and being in active struggle with outside ideas. However, these processes came to an almost abrupt end around 1580. With the absorption of Anabaptist splinter groups in Moravia the religious disputations ended. Groups that joined during the following decade were converts coming from Germany, Switzerland and Austria as the result of missionary activities. These groups had no integrated ideology of their own and therefore no struggle for clarification and new meaning was necessary in order to absorb them.

Moreover, the established Catholic and Protestant Churches consolidated their positions in those areas where they were dominant. This consolidation, of course, resulted in an overall decline of reformatory thought and action. New Anabaptist groups were difficult to form under these circumstances. The thought and beliefs of Anabaptism moreover became intellectually and socially discredited through a continuous propaganda. Both the Protestant and the Catholic Churches never bothered to make a distinction between the militant branch of Anabaptism and the Hutterite sect. The Counter-Reformation which began around 1590, subdued Anabaptist beliefs almost everywhere in the German Empire and made it impossible for groups to organize themselves. The tremendous spirit of the lower classes during the Reformation had exhausted itself. Instead the established churches which had found its secular backings prepared for the great ideological and armed clash between Protestants and Catholics, resulting in the Thirty Years War, lasting from 1618 to 1648. All these events cut the Hutterites off from the sources which shaped their dogmatic ideological creativity.

Migration to the communities in Moravia slowly died out and came to an end in the early 1600's. The great Churches still regarded Anabaptism as an eyesore, but Anabaptism was no longer a threat for them. The religious ideology of Anabaptism could safely be ignored or left to some local priests to battle with.

The sect as a whole had to face a number of economic

problems which slowly became more dominant than religious concerns. Squeezed in between various secular and religious authorities in Moravia, the leadership of the sect had learned to manipulate the non-Catholic nobility in Moravia and to use their privileges of self-government for the protection of the sect against the Catholic Emperor. This venture of the sect into political activities was followed by compromises in the religious field. During the period of great persecution in 1535, Jakob Hutter wrote a letter to the Council of Estates in Moravia condemning them and calling on them the judgment and punishment of God. Within two decades the sect had replaced such radical behavior by a carefully calculated contractual relationship between itself and the governing nobility. The protection of the sect by the Moravian nobility was traded against the economic advantages which the sect produced for the Moravian nobility.

During the last decade of the sixteenth century and the first decade of the seventeenth century, Hutterites were subjected to violent attacks from the priest of Feldsberg in Austria, Christopf Andreas Fischer.²³ But these attacks were tirades of hatred and innuendo to which the religious aspects provided the licence and the economic aspects the cause.

The Hutterite bishop Klaus Braidl published a reply. However, this discussion was initiated by Fischer on such a low level that it presented no occasion for any religious creativity. Thus internal and external developments acting within as well as

outside the group brought the religious creativity to a standstill.

The dogmatic apologetical creativity of Hutterites had exhausted itself under the prevailing conditions.

The concern of Hutterites with such questions as heaven and hell as is reported for the sect to have been written around 1600 belongs to the group of devotional literature. (Erbauungsliteratur.) It must be assumed that throughout the first phase similar works emerged out of sermons and discussions intended to give comfort to the old and sick.

Lastly, the "Sendbrief" of 1652 written by Andreas Ehrenpreis, which was included under the heading of dogmatic and apologetic literature, belongs to this category only partially. The towering spirit of Andreas Ehrenpreis was well capable of religious creativity. His writings and songs testify to this. However, his energies were absorbed by the struggle for order in a disintegrating social system. Even his Sendbrief reflects this struggle. His concern with defecting members, forms and application of punishment, the socialization of children, marriage to outsiders, etc. testify as to this struggle for order which overshadowed the true religious-ideological creativity of which this great Hutterite bishop was capable. Moreover, Ehrenpreis was an isolated figure swimming against a stream of complacency and social decay.

Summary

The dogmatic apologetic productions of the Hutterite sect

were the creation of the first generation of Hutterite sect members. They were the products of either active individual conversion experiences, of group discussions with converts, or of an active struggle centred around ideological accusations of outside forces.

Changes internal and external to the system brought this activity to a standstill. The consolidation of the Protestant and Catholic Churches dried up the flow of converts to the Hutterite sect. The early ideological struggle of these Churches with Hutterites was replaced by a stereotype of Anabaptism. This resulted into an ideological isolation of the sect. Slowly but progressively the Hutterite system became a closed system in terms of membership and ideas. In the group itself, religiously creative forces became replaced by economically oriented forces. The result was the slackening of the dogmatic apologetic creativity of the group, followed by its disappearance.

B. The Fluctuations in the Writing of Epistles.

There are three reasons why the production of epistles in the Hutterite sect characterizes a period of religious-ideological creativity. First, more individuals took part in the writings of such epistles than in any other religiously creative activity. The formulation of dogmatic statements was mainly the duty of a few recognized and well educated leaders who presented their ideas to the community for approval. Epistles, in contrast, were more

numerous and, therefore, attracted a larger number of participants. Secondly, the writing of epistles was independent of official offices in the sect. Although many and the most important epistles were written by elected leaders, this did not need to be the case. Ordinary Hutterite brethren separated from their group or threatened by forces of persecution or just travelling, emerged as inspiring examples for the sect as a whole. Thirdly the writing of epistles signified a process of communication not only between individuals but between groups and group interests and concerns. Ideas, information, beliefs, commitments and states of mind were transmitted between a great number of individuals eliciting courage, hope and identity.

For these reasons the writing of epistles must be regarded as an indicator of a concrete immediate and intense concern with religious ideas.

Professor Robert Friedmann collected a total of 348 epistles covering the time of the first phasing of the Hutterite system.²⁴ If this list of epistles is broken down according to the decade in which they were produced, the following picture emerges:

Table 1

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF HUTTERITE EPISTLES PRODUCED IN THE WORLD BY
DECADE: 1535-1680

Decade	1535-39	1540-49	1550-59	1560-69	1570-79	1580-89	1590-99	1600-09	1610-19	1620-29	1630-39	1640-49	1650-59	1660-69	1670-80	Total
No. of Hutterite epistles prod.	77	80	57	19	26	20	19	32	-	-	-	2	-	16	-	348
% of Hutterite epistles prod.	22.1	22.9	16.3	5.4	7.4	5.7	5.4	9.1	0	0	0	.05	0	4.5	0	99.3

During the first 15 years of the Hutterite sect the members wrote 45% of their total production of epistles. The first 25 years of existence of the Hutterite sect witnessed the production of 61% of all letters. The great decrease from 16.3% in the decade 1550-59 to only 5.4% in the decade 1560-69 again marks the transition from the first generation of the sect members to the second generation.

One can argue, of course, that persecution was a positive factor in the production of epistles. This is certainly true for the initial period. But the greatest persecution of the group took place between 1620 and 1630, and during this period no letters were produced at all. Of the 32 letters produced during the decade 1600-09, twenty were written by one person alone who travelled through the Orient in search of his deported family. Regarding these letters as indicative of family ties rather than religiously creative, a constant decline in the production of such letters must be noted beginning with 1560.

There were periods of persecution in 1535 and between 1547 and 1554. These periods were not unrelated to the production of

epistles. However, equally severe forms of persecution began around 1593 and yet a constant decline can be noted.

One can argue further that due to historical accidents epistles written during the later periods were not preserved. Such an argument cannot empirically be proven or disproven. However, there are some logical counter-arguments which render this argument invalid.

Under most normal historical conditions the records of earlier periods are more likely to get lost than those of younger periods. There is no evidence that this principle was invalid as to Hutterite historical records. More records in the form of epistles, however, are available for earlier periods than for the later ones. According to the principle that more of the earlier records should have been lost while the later ones should have been preserved, the trend should be exactly the opposite if an equal number of epistles was produced at all times. However, this is not the case. The conclusion, therefore, must be that the trend noticeable in the production of epistles is a genuine and true one. The other argument related to the first one is that due to some particularly abnormal events records for a certain period could have been largely destroyed therefore distorting the frequencies for these periods.

In the case under investigation it could be assumed that the persecution that took place between 1620 and 1630 led to the destruction of the epistles produced during this time.

This argument seems to be invalid because - as will be shown

on the following pages - the sect members during this time period produced great numbers of religious writings which, in fact, were preserved. Forms of persecution seem to have had little effect on the preservation of records. The religious writings usually were the first things that were saved under persecution. The Hutterite habit of copying diligently all earlier productions for the benefit of the group as a whole makes it very unlikely that much of the religious-ideological productions were lost at all. This is not to maintain the untenable idea that nothing was lost. The idea that is entertained here is that due to the size of the group, which reached about 13,000 around 1615, the various religious productions of the sect existed in so many different handwritten copies that any systematic trend of losing records of a particular type or at a particular time is very unlikely.

This seems to be equally true for later periods. Losses of historical records must be assumed, but these losses, in all likelihood, are random losses. Such random losses cannot distort the great fluctuations which are noticeable in the trends that were outlined so far. Again we come to the conclusion that the fluctuations of variables presented here reflect empirical reality.

The dynamic processes associated with the production of Epistles

The patterns revealed in the decline of epistles coincide with similar observations made in regard to the production of Hutterite songs.

The great decline in terms of song productions came around 1570. There is a difference of one decade if the decline of epistle writing and song writing is compared. However, this difference of one decade can be explained in terms of the nature of these two variables. Letters and epistles were always dated accurately because the date was part of the information contained in the letter. Songs; in contrast, had no natural date attached to them and many songs among Hutterites became dated at the time of death of the composer. Songs that were produced several years earlier in effect became dated later through such a habit. If this effect would be taken into account the time of decline of song productions and the time of decline of epistle writing would probably coincide perfectly.

The sudden increase of epistles during the period beginning around 1640 is entirely due to the remarkable Hutterite bishop Andreas Ehrenpreis who led the brotherhood from 1638 to 1662. Like in his other writings, Ehrenpreis in his letters attempted to lead the brotherhood back to the old established order and discipline. His letters are statements of exhortation and persuasion. They express a tremendous religious concern and convictions. However, they do not express the presence of religious convictions in the group but are lamentations over the loss of these convictions in the group. Moreover, Andreas Ehrenpreis was a voice without an echo. The membership did not respond to these letters in a way they had responded to similar letters written during their first three decades

of existence. There was a difference in faith and daily life between these periods. The free creative spirit, eager response, the great participation of the earlier period had given room to complacency, indifference and narrow confinement of personal interests.

Summary

The whole pattern in the decline of epistle writing reflects again the changing internal and external conditions in the group. The change from conversion to socialization in the system (the sudden break between the first and second generation) initiated an accumulative trend. Hutterites began to look inward toward their own system rather than being oriented outwardly. The system became a value in itself rather than being an instrument by which problems of social and religious life were dynamically translated into action. The reduction in the number of converts led to an increased isolation of the membership from its distant homeland and its problems. Fewer and fewer persons bringing new ideas with them entered the system. Religious-idealistic and personal interchanges were lost and increased isolation led to a closure of the system. While the Hutterite sect as late as 1560 attracted educated men of letters to their ranks, they produced a little manuscript in 1599 by the title, "Wie es so keine Hochgelehrten unter unserm Mittel zu finden sind", (Why there are no highly educated men among us.)²⁵

When the Hutterite sect was expelled from Moravia in 1622 and

the members fled to Hungary, the distance to the German homeland from which converts could be recruited became even greater and missionary work among Hutterites became more and more a token effort rather than an effective one. The traditional person to person and family to family relations which existed between members of the Hutterite sect and their relatives in the Tyrol and other parts of the Swiss, Austrian and German countries disappeared.

Externally, the consolidation of the established Churches made missionary work hard if not impossible. Religious-ideologically the Hutterite system was perfectly integrated. No questions could be asked by members of the sect for which there was no answer. The religious dynamics of the system had exhausted itself because the religious system in itself did not produce out of itself and at this time the challenge which perpetuated its own dynamics.

The decline and final disappearance of epistle writing around 1610 (The productions of Andreas Ehrenpreis beginning around 1640 must be regarded as belonging to another category) is indicative of the closure of the Hutterite system in terms of an ideological discourse of its members with the outside. It is indicative of the disruption of spiritual and mental ties of the Hutterite sect with its larger culture. The inevitable conclusion is that the final disappearance of this form of activity in effect marks a high degree of religious isolation and the beginning of an ideological decline of the system.

C. The Fluctuations in Exegetical Writings.

The production of exegetical writings within the Hutterite sect follows a trend which is almost exactly the reverse of the trend in dogmatic writings and productions of epistles.

Exegetical writings were defined as formal sermons or ritualistic texts. It was outlined earlier that the Hutterite church sermon originally was conducted more in the form of teaching and the giving of information rather than in a ritualistic form. The Hutterite preacher was a lay preacher without formal training. He was led to his office through his personal understanding of the word of God and the quality of his daily conduct in the Gemeinschaft expressing the ideals of the community.

Although the mode of determining the successorship became quickly institutionalized, it was for any particular individual impossible to deceive all members all the time in a total community like the Gemeinschaft. The combined election of new preachers through the peer group of established preachers and the following endorsement of the preacher by his own community made it extremely difficult for community factions to push their candidate through. Moreover any elected preacher was under probation for several years during which time he had to prove himself worthy of the office. Any elected preacher could be disposed of through the action of three of his peers.

These carefully worked out procedures assured that only high quality leaders were in effect elected. There seems to have

been little difficulty finding such leaders as long as converts were made in larger numbers. The tremendous role which converts played in the sect is demonstrated by the fact that the Hutterite brotherhood for the first 100 years of its existence was exclusively led by bishops who were not born in the system itself. The bishop Heinrich Hartmann (elected 1631) and Andreas Ehrenpreis (elected 1639) were the first leaders born in the system itself.

The early leaders of the general Anabaptist movement were all either highly educated (Conrad Grebel, Felix Mantz, Balthasar Hubmair, Hans Denck, Hans Hut, etc.) or they were former priests or monks.

The founding members of the Hutterite sect, however, were mainly educated craftsmen. A number of these people attained an educational standard far surpassing the scholastic formalism of the time. The Hutterite school system, in contrast, concentrated its efforts on the teaching of morals, discipline, and belief, neglecting the teaching of a wider world view. Together with the advancing closure of the system in terms of members, the system began to narrow its intellectual endeavours.

Despite the abhorrence of Hutterites toward rituals and despite the high quality of early preachers who attempted to preach the "living word", a trend toward ritualization set in.

The sacraments which Hutterites had retained seemed to have provided the earliest attempts to structure religious services. The Lord's Supper, Baptism and Marriage ceremonies demanded some written

statements outlining the proper behavior and the proper spiritual text for the occasion. The Ordination of preachers and the proper teaching to children provided additional occasions for structured religious activities.

Professor Robert Friedmann compiled a chronological inventory of all known Hutterite exegetical writings which could be dated. The inventory shows the following pattern:²⁶

Table 2

NUMBER OF HUTTERITE EXEGETICAL WRITINGS PRODUCED IN THE WORLD BY
DECADE: 1535-1680

Decade	1535-39	1540-49	1550-59	1560-69	1570-79	1580-89	1590-99	1600-09	1610-19	1620-29	1630-39	1640-49	1650-59	1660-69	1670-80	Total
Exegetical writing prod. per decade.	0	0	0	3	0	3 (6?)	7	10	4	102	12	9	67	6	2	232
% of Exegetical writing prod. per decade.	0	0	0	1.2	0	3.8	3%	4.3	1.7	43.9	5.1	3%	28.8	2.5	0.8	98.1

During the first 20 years - the life span of the first generation of converts - no exegetical or ritualistic writings were produced at all.

Among the three works produced during the decade 1560-69 is a Catechism for children. The decade 1580-89 lists nine writings. There is some evidence, however, that six of them were produced earlier. Among these are outlines for the Lord's Supper, (Eastern), Baptism, Marriage and the Ordination of ministers. There is also some evidence that these ritualistic writings developed step by step. Professor

Friedmann shows that the ritualistic text for Baptism seems to have been edited the last time around 1643 by Andreas Ehrenpreis. The last edition is still used today.

It should be kept in mind that the frequencies in exegetical writings recorded here tell little about the total creativity because it cannot be assumed that one work is as extensive or as valuable as another. Among the productions listed for 1593 is an interpretation of the Revelations of John containing 22 chapters. This work is contrasted with a sermon about Peter 1, 13-16, recorded for the year 1610.

Taking these considerations into account there seems to be a slow increase in the production of exegetical writings up to 1620. The greatest increase occurs during the decade 1620-29. This fact is very surprising because during this decade the Hutterites were driven out of Moravia and settled in Hungary. One should have expected that little should have been produced during these turbulent times marked by the cruelty of the Thirty Years War. No epistles, for example were written from 1610 to 1640. However, the Codex "Killian Walch" written in 1628 contains 80 meditations of which 60 were written in the form of short sermons. In 1625 the small "Valtin Winter Book" was produced. (Valtin Winter was the Hutterite bishop at that time, governing the Brotherhood from 1622 to 1631.) The small sermon book of 1625 was followed by the "Large Valtin Winter Book" of 1629.

During this decade obviously the first compilation of sermons

was made by the bishop. Professor Friedmann assumes that a liturgical calendar emerged in the Hutterite sect around 1650-1660. This liturgical calendar seemed to have been based on custom. If this is the case it would only be logical to assume that such a customary liturgical calendar emerged during the previous decades beginning with the first compilation of sermons in the decade 1620-29.

The most remarkable development pertaining to the evolution of exegetical and ritualistic writings took place between 1640 and 1660. There are only nine sermons listed for the decade 1640 to 1649 and 67 sermons for the decade 1650 to 1659. However, these sermons represent only a part of the overall production of that period.

According to the estimates of Professor Robert Friedmann, the Hutterite sect possesses about 250 to 300 sermons, (Lehren.) and 80 to 100 preliminary sermons (Vorreden.) A mimeographed inventory published by P.S. Gross, Preacher at the Pincher Creek Colony, Alberta, Canada, (presently at Espanola Colony, State of Washington, U.S.A.) lists 298 sermons (Lehren) ordered according to the relevant Bible texts. Reliable information from Hutterite preachers puts the number of Vorreden around 160. Professor Friedmann writes about the production of these sermons:

One can hardly go wrong if one assumes that the production of most of these writings took place during the leadership of the last great bishop, Andreas Ehrenpreis 1639-1662. His place of residence was Sabatisch in upper-Hungary. Not far away from Sabatisch was the village of Kesselsdorf which contained a centre of sermon

productions. Under the energetic influence of Andreas Ehrenpreis a number of talented preachers produced most of the Hutterite sermons of the time.²⁷

The religious-ideological creativity of the group at this time had become the duty of a professional group of writers intended to serve the need for structured sermons in Hutterite settlements. The emergence of such structured sermons; the emergence of a liturgical calendar and the creation of a group of professional writers concerned with mass productions characterizes a development which stands in marked contrast to the free interpretative spirit of the early period. The Hutterite religious creativity in the form of ritualistic and exegetical writings is a characteristic of the later development of the sect when more and more emphasis was placed on structured behavior.

The most interesting fact, however, is that this development collapsed completely a few years after the death of the great bishop Andreas Ehrenpreis in 1662. Only a few sermons were produced after 1662 despite the fact that the writers that did the mass production of sermons were still alive. One of these writers is known to have lived as long as 1701.

Summary

The production of exegetical writings follows a trend exactly the reverse of song productions, epistles and dogmatic writings. During the first decades no ritualistic sermons were necessary. With the observation of sacramental rites exegetical writings were introduced

and their production increased greatly until a group of professional writers produced them in masses. The trend revealed by these data is one from a freely structured religious service to a highly ritualistic religious service. It signifies a development from the free interpretation of religious ideas to religious-ideological formalism and rigidity.

Overall evaluation of the Hutterite religious-ideological subsystem

The presentation and characterization of the religious-ideological productivity of the Hutterite socio-cultural system in terms of different types of productions and their associated frequencies reveals an interesting pattern:

- 1.) Dogmatic and apologetic writings were exclusively created by the first generation of the Hutterite membership. These productions were the result of the direct conversion experiences of individuals followed by argumentations with joining groups of converts and the responses against accusations and misrepresentations of ideological forces external to the sect. They were, in fact, the product of internal clarifications and defence actions against external forces. With the passing of the first generation these activities disappeared.
- 2.) The writing of epistles signifies a widespread religious-ideological and social interchange within the Hutterite group and between Hutterites and the culture from which it emerged. It is indicative of the active participation and the active concern of its members toward each other's social and religious interest and common

goal. The writing of epistles reflects widespread creativity among the Hutterite membership unspecified as to functions or social importance. The production of epistles was partly precipitated by persecution, however its expressive value is not a result of persecution. It is rather a direct expression of an inner tension and commitment that was in need to be communicated to others with whom personal and social contacts were maintained. With the passing of the first generation these activities declined rapidly and came to a standstill when migration and conversion to the Hutterite group came to a halt.

3.) The production of songs in the Hutterite sect resembles most closely the production of epistles. Both were widespread activities for which the attainment of an office was not necessary. Both were often precipitated by experiences of conversion, persecution and martyrdom and both were expressions of inner tensions that needed to be communicated. Finally, epistles as well as songs had value in terms of the information contained in them.

The pattern of decline in song productions was typically initiated by the passing of the first generation and declined rapidly thereafter. The remarkable similarity of this decline with the decline in the writing of epistles demonstrates the loss of active individual participation in religious affairs of the sect.

4.) As the active spontaneous, widespread, tension filled religious productions declined, the ritualistic-structural productions increased. Beginning with the structuring of sacramental services, first a slow

and then a rapid process of religious-ideological structuring set in. While fewer and fewer individuals took part in epistle writing and song productions until these activities disappeared altogether, the production of exegetical and ritualistic writings rapidly became the prerogative of a professional group of writers.

With the mass production of sermons the free religious teachings in the Hutterite sect became structured and a customary liturgical calendar emerged. With the death of the organizer of these productions the whole structure collapsed.

An analysis of the various indicators presented here reveals that the religious-ideological activity of the Hutterite sect proceeded from an unstructured dynamic activity to structured patterns lacking dynamics.

This process shows a trend during which many lay individuals at the early stage of development expressed spontaneously religious tensions and degenerated to a point where a group of professionals produced ritualistic exegetical writings for structured services.

The significant steps in this process were the steps that designate degrees of closure for the ideological system. The greatest break occurred with the passing of the first generation and this break is reflected in all indicators. The constant decline of epistle writing and song production was initiated at that point and runs parallel with the decline of converts and the decline of outside contacts which the sect maintained with its original culture.

When the system became ideologically completely closed

following the persecution around 1620-30, the internal ideological tensions of the membership had disappeared. In response to this disappearance a rapid mechanization occurred designed to maintain an order for which the dynamic ideological prerequisites did not exist anymore.

This order was initiated, imposed and maintained by the charisma of the bishop Andreas Ehrenpreis and collapsed immediately after his death. The whole religious-ideological process clearly proceeded from unspecific widespread activities to specialized activities and mechanized activities. The relevant factors bringing this development about were the various factors that produced the closure of the system (from conversion to socialization and the decline of the number of converts joining the group). It meant the shutout of further information entering the system and the existence of the system in ideological isolation. Without ideological dynamics, the imposed structure could not be maintained and collapsed.

These processes of change in the religious-ideological subsystem of the Hutterites must be seen in relation to the principle of integration outlined earlier.

The practical exercise of the Gemeinschaft as an expression of an inner commitment to a religious-ideological principle had ceased to exist. With the disappearance of widespread religious-ideological participation in the form of religious creativity and with the emergence of a formalized ritualistic religious-ideological subsystem, the individual voluntaristic support for the principle

of integration disappeared also. It must be remembered that the Hutterite principle of integration contained tremendous self-restraints and a tremendous self-discipline on the part of the individual. These self-restraints could, in the long run, only be upheld if they were, in fact, supported by a powerful religious-ideological conviction. However, with the second generation an accumulative decline set in. The end result of this process of change was the enforcement of restraints and discipline which had to be imposed through bureaucratic administrative means. This is what Andreas Ehrenpreis attempted. His bureaucratic order, unsupported by the individuals religious commitment toward the integrative ideology, collapsed.

This development alone is not sufficient to explain the direction and the nature of these changes. It must be seen in relation with some facilitating factors found in other social patterns. The social structural (behavioral) creativity of the Hutterite sect members will be considered next.

VARIABLE THREE:

The social (behavioristic) creativity of Hutterites

The next variable to be considered consists of the social structural (behavioristic) creativity of the Hutterite sect members during the first phase from 1535 to 1685. The data for this variable exist in the form of "Gemeindeordnungen", (Community ordinances) issued during this period. The first of these Gemeindeordnungen was, in fact, issued in 1561 and the last in 1655.

The Sources:

The Gemeindeordnungen are statements of deviant behavior and prescriptions regarding desirable forms of behavior. The deviational part of the Gemeindeordnungen is seen as the indicator of the behavioral-structural creativity of the sect members. The prescriptive part outlining the desirable forms of behavior is either ideologically oriented - ideologically integrative - or tradionalistically oriented.

Since the Gemeindeordnungen were written by the centralized authority of the Hutterite sect read to and applied to all members, they can be regarded as statements of normative patterns of creative deviant and prescriptive conforming behavior.

The Hutterite Gemeindeordnungen were issued in the form of informal laws arising out of deviant behavior and intended to check and control these deviant forms of behavior. As statements of law they must be regarded as primary data. It should be noted that the

Gemeindeordnungen are available in their original formulations.

There are 35 Gemeindeordnungen available for the analysis covering the above indicated period. This number of Gemeindeordnungen represents all known Ordnungen. It is, however, suggested by some historians that some Gemeindeordnungen might be missing. Since such missing Ordnungen would have an influence on the representativeness of the available Ordnungen, this argument must be investigated

The Gemeindeordnungen in their overall structure try to regulate in the first place all the various occupations that were present in the Hutterite sect. It would be safe to assume, therefore, that all or most of the occupations were in some way or another regulated by an Ordnung. For the following occupations Gemeindeordnungen dealing with these crafts are available:

Millers; carpenters; dyers; shoemakers; barber surgeons; buyers; stewards; potters; cutlers; hoofsmiths; scythsmiths; coppersmiths; bladesmiths; casemakers; watchmakers; store clerks; farm managers; teamsters; seamstresses; cellar masters.

More occupations are covered by General Gemeindeordnungen referring to various occupations including preachers and financial managers, either treating these occupations directly or referring to them in a summary way. This is particularly true for a great number of agricultural occupations.

If one compares the list of occupations covered by Gemeindeordnungen with the division of labor outlined later, it

becomes clear that not only are most of the occupations covered by the Ordnungen, but also the most important and most extensive occupations are, in fact, regulated. Some occupations clearly would not need to be mentioned in a special Ordnung. This applies to such occupations as night watchman, whose duties were outlined in one of the General Ordnungen. There is some reason to assume that the Ordnungen of weavers might be missing.

Considering the above mentioned factors, there is very little reason to assume that the few missing Ordnungen - if there are any missing at all - would have any disturbing effect on the data at all. Quite a number of Ordnungen are repetitious in any case and present only different manifestations of the same underlying phenomenon. But there are other reasons for claiming a high representativeness of the data. These arguments are related to the sources.

The last collection of Gemeindeordnungen was made around 1640 by Andreas Ehrenpreis. He was the Hutterite bishop most concerned with the maintenance of a bureaucratic order. It is from this collection that our data is taken.

Dr. Josef Beck, the historian mentioned as one of the great collectors of Hutterite records, made a handwritten copy of the Ehrenpreis collection during the 1880's. This copy today is preserved in the Mennonite Historical Library in Goshen, Indiana. A Xerox copy of this handwritten copy was made and forms the source material of the present data. The original work of Andreas

Ehrenpreis, however, was lost during the Second World War.

The Ehrenpreis collection written in 1640 can reasonably be assumed of covering everything that was written before that time. However, there are 12 Gemeindeordnungen available which were issued after 1640. This large number of Ordnungen for the relatively short time of 15 years up to 1655 when the last Ordnung was written, indicates that little if any was lost at all. Andreas Ehrenpreis died in 1662 at the age of 73. It can be assumed that the last seven years of his life were probably not the most productive ones in his struggle for order in the sect.

The presentation of the data

The quantitative presentation of the data will contain the following parts:

- 1.) The ordering of Gemeindeordnungen according to the time periods during which they were issued.
- 2.) The ordering of Gemeindeordnungen according to the time periods during which they were written, plus the areas of Life (Gemeinschaften) to which they apply.
- 3.) The qualitative presentation of the data will pay attention to trends that were effective in the various Gemeinschaften.

The frequencies of the Gemeindeordnungen in reference to the time of their issue and the area of their application should point

out important trends of development. The qualitative analysis should shed some light on the nature of these developments.

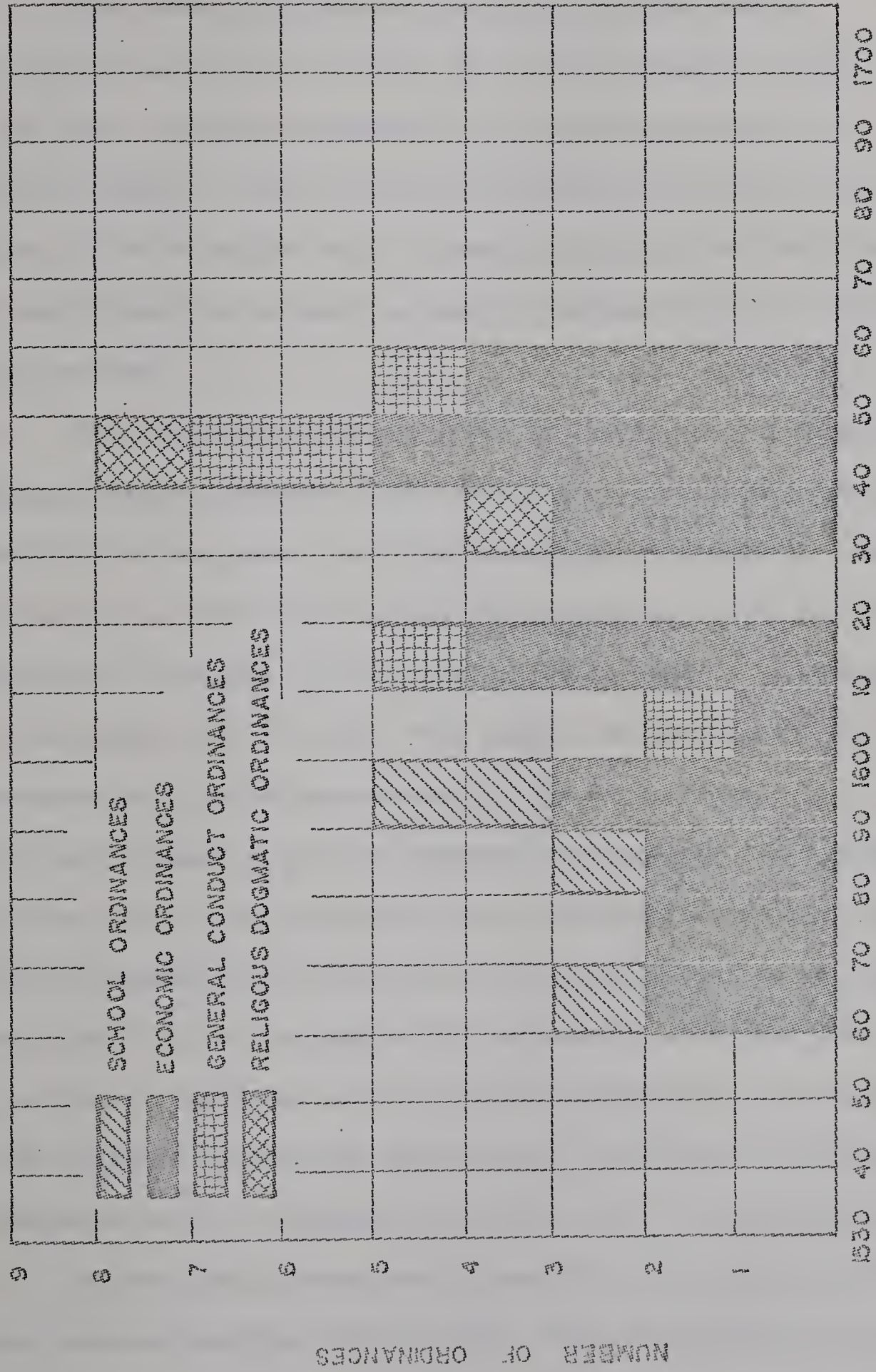
Since these Gemeindeordnungen are quite extensive, no attempt can be made to present them in primary form. However, some typical Ordnungen characteristic of a certain time period will be reproduced in the Appendix, either in their entirety or in the form of extensive non-literal translations. The translation of these Ordnungen from a sixteenth century German to modern English of course causes some loss in meaning and originality which is unavoidable.

The quantitative fluctuations of Gemeindeordnungen.

Graph 4 shows the frequency of Gemeindeordnungen issued over time. The interesting point is that no Ordnungen were issued during the first 26 years of the existence of the Hutterite socio-cultural system. Again the data clearly point out the transfer from the first to the second generation of members.

The decade 1560 to 1569 witnessed the decline of the dogmatic apologetic activities of the sect members and it witnessed the decline of song productions and epistles. If all this could have been an accident, it can hardly be expected that the emergence of Gemeindeordnungen at the same time, which designates the replacement of an informal spiritual order with a formal body of rules and regulations, is an accident also. There is a clear negative correlation between the decline of religious-ideological productions

NUMBER OF HUTTERITE COMMUNITY ORDINANCES ISSUED AND REVISED BY TYPE OF ORDINANCE: 1530-1700



Graph 4

and the rise in the issuing of Gemeindeordnungen.

The number of Ordnungen issued per decade remains relatively constant up to 1610. One of the Ordnungen issued in the year of 1569 was prompted by a crop failure and the resulting famine. Since it aims to alleviate the effects of this famine on the Hutterite sect, it should rightfully be excluded because it does not attempt to regulate deviant behavior originating in the system.

The relatively constant level in the issuing of Gemeindeordnungen again correlates negatively with the religious-ideological creativity of the group. As this creativity declined, the necessity for issuing more and more regulations increased. There is a sharp jump from 2 Ordnungen for the decade 1600 to 1609, to 5 Ordnungen for the decade 1610 to 1619. This sudden increase negatively correlates with the disappearance of epistle writings. It correlates positively, however, with the bureaucratic measures taken during this time. As to be explained later, the Hutterite population was partially reshuffled as the result of war and unrest up to 1607. This reshuffling of the population undoubtedly disturbed many occupational structures in the affected settlements. The disturbance of the chain of command and the hierarchy of offices in the affected settlements made it necessary to regulate some occupational structures.

No Gemeindeordnungen were issued at all during the period of severe persecution from 1620 to 1629. This development correlates perfectly with the absence of epistle writing and the absence of

song productions, but correlates negatively with the production of ritualistic exegetical writings. How meaningful such correlations are is another question.

The simple truth seems to be that the destruction of all Hutterite occupations in terms of their physical facilities and their social structures caused not a partial restructuring like in the previous decade but a complete restructuring of these occupations. Such complete social and physical restructuring was characterized by dire needs, material scarcities and the absence of ingrained social and physical privileges. The social differentiation arisen during the previous decades could not be maintained under these circumstances. The dire need for food and shelter injected a new element of equality and undifferentiation into the sect. Such equality and undifferentiation was not in need of formal regulation because it was visibly imposed by the circumstances.

With the re-establishment of the social and occupational structure, the need for new regulations quickly emerged. It reached a peak with 8 Gemeindeordnungen for the decade 1640 to 1649 and 5 for the time period of 1650 to 1655.

The total issuing of Gemeindeordnungen correlates positively with the production of ritualistic and exegetical writings. This is a very important point because both of these variables are indicative of factors of progressive mechanization and structural rigidity. The fact that no Gemeindeordnungen were issued during the period 1620 to 1629, while a great many exegetical writings were recorded during

this decade, is indicative of the different nature of these variables. The Gemeinschaft of believers (the religious group) needed no physical assets for its functioning. Its differentiation was simple, consisting basically of preachers and believers.

(The Apostles acted as missionaries outside the settlements.) The disruption which this structure underwent was relatively small. The tribulations of the exodus assigned a new importance to religious services. On the other hand, quite a number of preachers who were leaders of settlements before faced each other in the same settlement. Reluctant to be free speaking teachers of their fellow preachers, they might have resorted to the "safer" written sermons. Preachers that had lost their jobs as heads of the settlements might have resorted to writing sermons as an alternate occupation of equal status.

In contrast to this relatively easy adaptation of the religious institution to new conditions, the various crafts and trades needed material facilities to re-establish themselves. Such re-establishment, of course, needed time and capital which was slow to accumulate. It is for these reasons that the overall positive correlation between these two variables could have been reversed during the decade of 1620 to 1629.

Both variables disappear very abruptly. The issuing of Gemeindeordnungen ceases seven years before the death of Andreas Ehrenpreis and the writing of exegetical ritualistic sermons stops a few years after the death of Andreas Ehrenpreis. Taking into

account that the Gemeindeordnungen were actual products of Ehrenpreis while the exegetical writings were inspired and encouraged by him, the time difference between the disappearance of these two variables is meaningfully explained.

Graph 5 shows the distribution of Gemeindeordnungen according to the social areas to which they apply. The fact that the first School Ordnung was issued in 1568 and repeated or extended in 1588, 1593 and 1596 demonstrates to what extent the process of socialization preoccupied the social milieu. (See School Ordnung of 1568 in the Appendix).

The other Ordnungen beginning with the Ordnung for shoemakers in 1561 and ending with the Ordnung for the buyers (Einkaeufer) in 1599, are all regulative of single crafts. With the Ordnung concerning the dress of Hutterites in 1603 and continued by the great General Ordnung of 1612, "Concerning the upbringing of youth, simplicity of life, economy and the right conduct of the Bruderhofs", the regulation of general social behavior is being added to the regulation of socialization and crafts. These General social Ordnungen were continued with the great General Ordnung of 1639 and the expanded General Ordnung of 1551. The same social concern is expressed in the Ordnung "Concerning the matching of young people" in 1643 and the "Ordnung of the managers" in 1642. The last category of Ordnungen to appear were those of a religious behavioral character. In 1633 the Ordnung, "Concerning absolute nonresistance" was issued and in 1640 an Ordnung to regulate the behavior of the preachers

and apostles was necessary.

The sequence in the Gemeinschaften to be regulated by Ordnungen, therefore, is the following:

<u>Time of Emergence</u>	<u>Type of Ordnungen</u>
1560 - 1570	Ordnungen of socialization (Gemeinschaft of education).
1560 - 1570	Single Ordnungen of crafts (Gemeinschaft of production and consumption).
1610 - 1620	General Ordnungen (Applying to all Gemeinschaften).
1630 - 1640	Ordnungen regulating the conduct of preachers and enforcing religious dogmas.

A trend from the regulation of simple forms of behavior to the regulation of complex forms of behavior is noticeable in this ordering of Gemeindeordnungen. In terms of the total integration of the system this means that deviant creative behavior emerged in the economic subsystems and progressed to engulf at the end the core of the Hutterite integration in the form of the religious-ideological principle of integration of the system as a whole.

The qualitative fluctuations contained in the Gemeindeordnungen.

1.) Gemeinschaft of education

The School Ordnung of 1568 does not fall into the category of creative deviant behavior but on the contrary constitutes the grand framework of an educational ideal. This ideal contains the personality structure to be attained through education and socialization. Hutterites tried to raise a sober, controlled, god fearing individual,

willingly participating and rationally attracted to the Gemeinschaft. Collective orientation rather than self-assertion was emphasized; patience rather than emotions were valued. Children were treated strictly but generously; they were given materially everything they needed but no luxuries. Underlying the Hutterite educational philosophy was the assumption that children at birth were neither good nor bad. What they became as adults was the result of their upbringing. However, in the process of socialization children were seen to display natural tendencies toward the animal nature inherent in man. This nature should be controlled. Patience and rationality used in the education of children was eventually to get through to the understanding faculties of the child. Once the child understood its own nature and had acquired a conception of the better - the spiritual - nature of man, the educational ideal had been realized.

Andreas Ehrenpreis in his "Ein Sendbrief an die Bruederliche Gemeinschaft das hoechste Gebot der Liebe betreffend", 1652, (See also under the section on dogmatic writings) (Epistle to the brotherly Gemeinschaft concerning the highest commandment of love) admits that the Hutterite educational facilities at that time had failed to produce an individual that lived up to the ideal outlined almost 100 years earlier. (See Appendix). He claims that the children's inclinations for injustice, desires and lust are the result of their exposure to the outside. However, the text of the "General Ordnung of 1612" regarding the upbringing of children, in part already reads

as follows:

We see how many ill-mannered children we receive from our schools; children which become a burden for the Gemeinschaft; many of which are getting lost in the world; converting to bad individuals heading toward a shameful end.

The failure of the Hutterite system to realize its education ideal can clearly be deducted from further remarks made in various Ordnungen. The essence of this failure lies in the following contradiction:

The responsibility for the realization of the Hutterite educational ideal was given to the group as a whole. In its practical application this meant the creation of the Gemeinschaft of education in the form of a school which received children from the parents as soon as they were weaned (at times at the age of two years). As described earlier, the children were then raised, supervised and taught by appointed teachers.

Such a structural educational setting was perfectly integrated with the religiously determined principle of integration of the sect.

However, this structure neglected the general cultural strength of the family. The primary bond between parents and children could not be reduced to the extent to which the rational application of the principle of integration demanded such a reduction.

The result was that the Hutterite educational structure and the family became rivals in their claim for the children. While the

educational structure tried to inject discipline, submission, rationality and austerity into the children, the family tried to maintain and expand the emotional primary contacts between parents and children. In this situation the family began to spoil children while the educational structure had to resort to stricter and stricter measures in order to offset the influence of the parents.

As parents were able to accumulate social and material privileges in the settlements, they began to use these privileges to protect their children from the harsh discipline and austere environment of the educational structure.

The educational result of this struggle between the group authority and the family was not the Hutterite educational ideal but a schizophrenic personality structure. The double standards created by such diverse influences created a personality structure which did not exist wholly within the framework of the group, but which contained the institutionalized realization of differences between the permissive emotional primary ties of the family and the austere rational discipline in the Hutterite school. As time progressed these two positions became more extreme, creating even greater differences. The inevitable result was a personality structure which institutionally learned how to beat the system.

The story of the Gemeindeordnungen trying to regulate the educational process is the story of the group authority trying to prevent parents from spoiling their children. With the rising powers

of individuals in the group who used these powers for the protection of their children, the process became irreversable. More and more individuals were raised in the double standard becoming progressively unfit for a full unreserved participation in the group.

Although the Hutterite educational system was integrated perfectly according to the religious-ideological conceptions which it had, it neglected the pull which general cultural factors in the form of family ties had on the educational system. It is the contradiction which emerged between the religious-ideological conceptions and the general cultural conceptions of the family which brought the downfall of the process of socialization in this socio-cultural system.

2.) Gemeinschaft of production.

The early creative (deviant) behavior of Hutterite sect members regarding the Gemeinschaft of production followed successive claims and challenges. These claims and challenges were:

- 1.) The claim regarding the individual ownership of the tools of production challenging the concept of the group ownership of the tools of production.
- 2.) The claim regarding individual decisions in the conduct of work challenging the group authority in regard to the conduct of work.
- 3.) The claim regarding individual allocation of work challenging the allocation of work through the group.
- 4.) The claim regarding individual decisions in the employment of working capital challenging the group authority in the employment of working capital.

- 5.) The claim regarding individual ownership of capital challenging the group authority in the ownership of money.

The claims and challenges listed under 1.), 2.) and 3.) originated with the pride of the workman in his tools, his pride in the products of his work, and his professional mental involvement in the process of work. The rational structure of the Hutterite Gemeinschaft of production emphasized good tools, good work and good planning of the work. However, it denied the personal characteristics to the individual which created such productions.

The individual could not help but get involved in the process of production in terms of his tools, the products of his work and the way he performed this work. While the socio-cultural system on the one hand wanted him to be rationally involved it denied him, on the other hand, the right to be emotionally involved. Good tools or good work were valued, however pride in good tools and pride in good workmanship were denied.

The Hutterite Gemeinschaft of production demanded a rationally perfect robot having no right to draw emotionally satisfying conclusions from his good work to his own ego.

This denial of the ego, of course, represented one of the most important restraints demanded by the religious-ideology. However, with a decline in the religious-ideological attachment, such restraints turned into contradictions.

The early Gemeindeordnungen are filled with complaints regarding those individuals that could not help but draw inferences

from their tools and their work to themselves. While the demand was that good work, etc. was to be performed to the glory of God, being a testimony of the validity of his work and a demonstration of individual faith, the reaction of the individual was, in actuality, much more profane. He took pride in himself.

The relatively extensive division of labor and the semi-industrial organization of labor acted in favor of the individual in the sense that it became physically impossible for the central bureaucracy to know and to supervise all the occupational details. The occupational branches in turn having a stratification of their own, quickly acquired for themselves the privileges associated with the ownership of tools and the conduct and allocation of work.

When the acquisition of such privileges extended first to the use and later to the ownership of capital, a crucial stage in the development of the sect was reached. (See points 4.) and 5.)) For decades the two weeks deadline to account for money transactions was stubbornly defended by the central authority. However, during the 1650's some Hutterite masters claimed that the group will eventually inherit the money they have. (See Appendix. General Ordinance of 1651). This indicates that the two week period in giving account of money had disappeared.

With the financial control out of the hands of the central bureaucracy, the overall burden of the settlements had to be carried by a small part of the income. This was the point when the exploitation of the system as a whole by subsystems reached a high

point. The individual crafts attempted to maximize the services of the settlement for their crafts in terms of shelter, food, tools and equipment, while at the same time they minimized their contributions to the expenditures of the system as a whole.

The effects of such processes on the overall integration in the Hutterite settlements proved to be fatal. Moral obligations were replaced by contractual relations. The willingness of the individual to work reduced drastically. (See Appendix. Gemeindeordnung of 1640.) The independence of the individual in terms of his dress, food and general conduct increased greatly. Individual satisfaction of these needs, however, were only possible by withholding income from the community. As a result the community could not accumulate Reserve Funds put aside for emergencies. The self-determination of the sect decreased making it greatly subject to the contingencies of external forces.

Andreas Ehrenpreis gives a vivid description of these conditions as they existed around 1651. (See Appendix. General Ordinance of 1651.)

The general dynamics in the Gemeinschaft of production proceeded from a rationally restrained, ideologically dominated and committed, emotionally deprived, diligent craftsman, dedicating the products of his work to the community as a whole, to an emotionally free, ideologically uncommitted, self-satisfying, lazy craftsman trying to maximize his rewards from the community.

This process coincides with the change from a strong,

rationally determined central bureaucracy displaying great self-determination and foresight, to a weak, ineffective, central bureaucracy unable to obtain the resources necessary for self-determination and foresight. It is this a process from the integration around a particular religious-ideology to the integration around economic subsystems satisfying individual wants. However, since the system as a whole was not designed to be integrated around individual wants, after all the resources of the community were not freed for individual pursuits, the new form of integration around individual wants proved to be disintegrative and, therefore, destroyed the original system. A structural reshuffling became necessary through which the resources were freed for individual pursuits. It is exactly this event that happened in 1685 when "everybody decided to pay for himself." This meant that not only did everybody pay for himself but also that everybody "earned" for himself.

3.) The general social Gemeinschaft.

The struggle for order in the general social Gemeinschaft of the Hutterite sect was the struggle for the supremacy of the centralized bureaucracy over various subsystems.

The first echelon of the centralized bureaucracy consisted of the bishop and the preachers. Through their offices they had monopolized the religious powers and they exercised these religious powers unchallenged. The legitimacy of these powers was determined

by the religious-ideological principle of integration described earlier. Their very office as preachers committed them to the defence of this integrative principle.

At the same time, this first echelon of the centralized bureaucracy exercised economic powers. The difference between the exercise of the religious and the economics powers, however, was that the first was exercised as a result of a direct personal relationship between preacher and believer, while the second power was exercised through an elaborate bureaucratic structure determined by the division of labor. The preachers being unable to interfere directly in the internal affairs of various crafts, nevertheless attempted to control the general conduct of these crafts. This was done through the financial control of the crafts, the control over their work, tools, working hours, etc. The various Gemeindeordnungen were designed to maintain such a control.

However, such a general control, by necessity, left quite a degree of freedom to the various crafts. Finer controls had to be delegated to the officials of the crafts.

The relationship between the exercise of the religious powers and the exercise of the economic powers slowly developed in contradictory ways. The religious aspects of the community were based on the principle of integration emphasizing unity and equality among members. This unity and equality was maintained in the direct and personal relationship between the preacher and

believer. However, the economic structure injected inequalities into the system by the simple existence of its differentiation of occupations and offices and its different access to resources. A Hutterite watchmaker had different access to resources than an agricultural field worker. A barber surgeon was in quite a different occupational and social position than a wood cutter. To maintain equality under these conditions meant self-restraints on the part of the occupationally and economically privileged. Such self-restraints were present, it seems, in the first generation of Hutterites among which the religious fervor dominated over economic concerns. However, with members being born and raised in the system, such religious dominance disappeared slowly and made room for the exercise of occupational and positional privileges.

At this point the social group got involved in a self-contradictory process. While the religious institution preached unity and equality, the economic institution in actuality injected inequalities into the system. The Hutterite central bureaucracy was quite aware of these contradictions. In their Gemeindeordnungen they attempted to enforce equality and check economic inequalities by referring to the principle of integration. The appeal to the religious principle (in its various religious formulations) was the only possible tool available to them short of expulsion. A general social problem, of course, could not be solved by the expulsion of members, this was only effective in isolated cases.

The effectiveness of the religious appeal, however, declined

with the decline of the religious creativity of the group. As the religious appeal declined, the personal restraints declined and the ego of Hutterite individuals began to expand into those occupational and positional areas only indirectly controlled by the central bureaucracy.

There are actually two periods in this process that can be distinguished:

- 1.) The period during which the central bureaucracy attempted to protect the equality of the less privileged. (Children, the aged, less privileged occupations, etc.)
- 2.) The period during which the central bureaucracy had to fight for its own dominance and existence against the onslaught of the powerful economic subsystems.

These periods merge into each other, of course, but roughly speaking the first period began around 1570 and the second began around 1630.

The various Gemeindeordnungen express these processes vividly. The first Ordnung for the shoemakers in 1561 already attempts to control the economic powers of the shoemakers who resorted to making shoes of various kinds for various individuals in the settlements. Having acquired the right for themselves to make various kinds of shoes for various individuals according to their own discretion favoritism and nepotism emerged. Through the issuing of the shoemakers Ordnung the acquired powers were taken away from the shoemakers and handed over to the central bureaucracy.

During the following decades the Gemeindeordnungen tried

to control similar emergent activities arising out of economic privileges and inequalities. Among these activities are typically the following: Swapping of material between various crafts without the knowledge of the central bureaucracy; lending money between crafts or between individuals; transferring the status and authority of a master craftsman to his family (letting his wife give the orders); using rude language by supervisors, etc.; being harsh to younger people; failure to consult the central authority; resorting to individual acquisitions of dress, etc. for wife and children; developing pride, etc., etc. That all such behavior patterns were disruptive of the central religious principle can readily be seen.

The second period began when those members of the sect who were deprived of access to special privileges began to lose interest in the performance of work. (See Ordnung of 1610). At this point the economically privileged had to share some of their privileges with those who worked under them. A new form of remuneration emerged in the system whereby the economically privileged assured the co-operation of their subordinate workers by granting them parts of the products of their work. This took place in various forms. Individual craftsmen acquired the custom to work a certain number of hours for the community and some hours for their own profit, often using the material of the group. Or they were paid in goods or money for some of their work. It seems to have been a widespread custom that Hutterite occupations at that time took up mostly those

jobs which were accompanied by a kick-back.

Such practices resulted in the diversion of the gains and profits of the group which were dissipated before they reached the central authority. Without such profits the central authority was unable to provide the necessary functions which it had assumed.

The final decline and collapse of the social community, however, must be seen in relation to another important factor.

The system of sanctions in the Hutterite socio-cultural system was of a particular nature. Sanctions were directed firstly to the religious consciousness of the individual and secondly toward his understanding. Admonition, therefore, represented the principle form of punishment and it was, of course, intended to rehabilitate rather than to punish the deviant. If such rehabilitation failed, the individual was excluded from the group.

The later development saw the rise of a new form of punishment - that of shunning. Shunning, in contrast to admonition, was a social form of punishment. Its effectiveness depended on the active participation of all members of the sect. The degree of cohesion within the group and the degree of reference behavior expected from the deviant being shunned, were other factors influencing the effectiveness of this form of punishment.

With the decreasing religious-ideological awareness and the decreasing cohesion within the group, the effectiveness of the

sanctions decreased likewise. The situation then developed that forms of punishment were least effective when their effectiveness was needed most to arrest deviant behavior.

Andreas Ehrenpreis' struggle against deviancy was characterized by the lack of effective measures of punishment for deviants. The deviant that could not be rehabilitated through admonition or shunning simply could not be touched. Expulsion from the group at that time was not easy to impose because the various occupational groups were able to protect deviants. The fact that also (See Appendix. General Gemeindeordnung of 1652) had to be tolerated in the system demonstrates the ineffectiveness of the system of sanctions at that time.

4.) The Ordnungen regulating the Gemeinschaft of believers.

The content of the Gemeindeordnungen referring to the Gemeinschaft of believers can be divided into two parts:

- 1.) Regulating the conduct of the Gemeinschaft of believers. (e.g. church sermons, etc.)
- 2.) Regulating the conduct of the preachers as officials of the upper bureaucratic echelon.

It is the second part which emerged relatively late, around 1630 to 1640, while the first part emerged surprisingly early.

The great General Ordnung of 1612 already strictly forbids to serve hard liquor for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. It cites the incidence where several pails of hard liquor were emptied before the brethren felt ready to subject themselves to the

activities of the most Holy Ceremony of the Lord's Supper.

The Ordnung describes the event as follows:

A great disorder occurred when at the time of the Lord's Supper in one community, several pails of hard liquor were served to the members and their guests. In the morning when everybody was to get ready for the word of the Lord, hard liquor was served in the rooms and in the shops such that it was terrible just to listen to the noise that was made.

There were members that went from one room to another to drink and when the Lord's Supper was celebrated most of them were asleep...

The writer remarks dryly:

...and it happened quite often that while the Lord's word was dissipated it strongly and displeasingly tasted like hard liquor.

Other Ordnungen mention with increasing frequency intolerable absenteeism from sermons and Sunday School.

Those members of the community who worked as servants for noble estates seldom had the opportunity to take part in church sermons. The same was true of those agricultural workers and craftsmen (millers and barber surgeons) whose place of residence was outside the communal settlement. The Gemeindeordnungen decry the fact that these people tended to miss church sermons even when they had the opportunity to attend.

Another, perhaps more important, factor is the decline in literacy among Hutterites. There were hardly any Hutterites among the first generation who were not literate. The records written at that time found illiteracy such an important thing

that they usually mention if a person was unable to read and write. But already in the General Gemeindeordnungen of 1612 it is mentioned that those youngsters who could read and write were reminded to study the epistles and the confessions of the elders diligently. This remark implies that Hutterite youth at that time was not completely literate despite the elaborate school system that attempted to teach religious readings above all. During the later decades similar complaints are made in the Gemeindeordnungen.

Although the economic affairs of the communities could not be conducted without a highly literate management, it appears that a form of functional illiteracy in the religious field emerged among the ordinary members. How widespread such functional illiteracy was is hard to estimate. This functional illiteracy it seems consisted in the inability to understand the religious-ideological breadth and depth of the early writers.

All of these trends had the influence of removing the Gemeinschaft of believers from its central place in the community to one subsystem among many.

Certain degenerative trends in the conduct of the preacher's office furthered this trend.

When Andreas Ehrenpreis issued an Ordnung for the preachers in 1640, he attempted to control those bureaucratic officials on whose integrity and sincerity the system largely depended. In the first paragraph of this Ordnung, Ehrenpreis warns against the

dangers of favoritism. He goes on to forbid his preachers the following:

No specially cooked dishes for preachers; no free access to kitchen and wine cellar; no entertainment for communal officials in the house of the preacher; no attachment and pride regarding the coach horses used by preachers; no exclusive use of such horses by the preacher; the preacher's wife and children are not to be taken along on official business; no favoritism for the children of preachers regarding their school attendance; no favoritism in terms of dress for the family of the preacher; better personal care for the sick, aged and children; no special table for the preacher's family and the communal dignitaries at the Lord's Supper; no special food at the Lord's Supper; no overfriendliness with members of the community; no hostility with respect to the manager; no frequent sleeping of preachers at inappropriate times; confidential affairs should be treated as such and not spread around as gossip.

Considering the powers and influence of preachers and taking their example-setting capacity into account, it becomes clear that deviant behavior had penetrated the core of the bureaucratic authority of the Hutterite sect. The forbidden activities are all of such a nature as to demonstrate the

acquisition of privileges and inequalities in the access to communal resources on the part of the preachers. The activities prescribed for preachers demonstrate the protective intent of the bishop in regard to those who had no access to communal resources and depended on the services of the community. It is, therefore, the disintegration of the basic principle of the Hutterite community - the equality of all before God and the equality of all men within the community - which had occurred at that time.

Andreas Ehrenpreis, in his last great General Gemeindeordnung, made the following elegant plea for change:

And for those who love the laws of God and the ordinance of His people - the brotherhood - and who seek their own souls' salvation, may they give testimony and evidence that they are in agreement with the ordinances of the early Church and our community. May they declare whether they still accept that which they have promised on their knees in the covenant of baptism, and whether they will return to this discipline and abide by it, and let go of all disorder. We ask that each one speak up and tell us.

The evidence Andreas Ehrenpreis was asking for was not forthcoming.

The dynamics of the Hutterite socio-cultural system which were brought about by a multitude of factors acting within the system and determining the fate of the system could not be changed by elegant pleas. The disintegrating trend finally became an avalanche crushing the community of goods under its force of impact.

VARIABLE FOUR:

The Division of Labor in the Hutterite Socio-Cultural System.

It has been indicated already that the division of labor in the Hutterite socio-cultural system was more or less a copy of the type and nature of division of labor which existed in the classes from which Hutterites were largely recruited. It seems that most Hutterites, with a few exceptions, were journeymen rather than Guild masters. At the beginning of the sixteenth century a separation between master and journeyman had long taken place. The rank of the Guild master had become hereditary and the old custom that every journeyman could become master had long disappeared. The mass of journeymen who had accepted this idea had organized itself in journeymen associations which covered the whole German territories. These journeymen, according to the custom of the trades, travelled a great deal in pursuit of new techniques and new knowledge. They formed a most active and most alert section of society. The social position of these journeymen, together with their high mobility and their willingness to learn, made them natural recruits for the social and ideological appeals of Anabaptism. While former priests and monks were most often the initiators of the Anabaptist ideas, it was the travelling journeymen who picked up and spread these ideas. Jakob Hutter, as well as Peter Rideman, the two most influential figures during the first 15 years, were both journeymen.²⁸

Once the Hutterite social structure was established, it

was these joining journeymen who brought their crafts into the communities. The Tyrolean miners were one of these groups. Others followed quickly. The Hutterite settlements typically proceeded to build an economic system by first providing a small but sufficient agricultural base and then expanded into the respective crafts. This was in no way unusual because most Guild members maintained a small agricultural base, even in cities.

To possess a particular craft was an extremely valuable asset at the time. The long and hard years of apprenticeship which were a custom in all crafts made it a life possession. Hutterites seemed to have made great efforts to accommodate all or at least most of the craftsmen joining their groups by setting up appropriate operations. By around 1569 the following division of labor was found in Hutterite communities:³⁰

Bricklayers, hoofsmiths, scythsmiths, copper-smiths, blacksmiths, plumbers, watchmakers, cutlers, sheet-metal workers, red-dyer, white-dyer, furrier, shoemaker, harness maker, belt maker, sack maker, wagon maker, binder, carpenter, turner, hut maker, clothmaker, miller, cloth-cutter, taylor, blanket maker, weaver, rope-maker, sieve maker, glass maker, potter, beer brewer, barber, doctor and physician.

In addition, the agricultural occupations included:

lumbering and wood cutting, wine gardens, horse raising, cattle raising, gardening, dairy production, and various grain and vegetable productions.

One favorite pattern of economic pursuit was to hire out

teams of bricklayers or carpenters for building projects. Work of this kind was often performed on a cost plus wage basis. Agricultural managers for dairy production, milling or general supervision of noble households were frequently hired out. Hutterite women served as wet-nurses and servants for the feudal estates in which the group had settled. Mills were often operated on a profit sharing basis.

All work performed was laid down in negotiated contracts spelling out in detail the various rights and obligations of the contracting partners.³¹ Hutterites settled on noble estates only when they were able to obtain a so-called "Hausbrief." This Hausbrief, in fact, was a contract between Hutterites and the respective landowner. It contained guarantees of freedom of religion, Hutterite self-government of internal affairs including jurisdiction regarding all employment and jurisdiction in terms of law enforcement.³² Hutterites had the right to withdraw from these contracts. They paid or performed the customary duties in the form of rent, work or tithes, but all work over and above these obligations was strictly subject to negotiation between the partners. Several attempts were made by Moravian noblemen to reduce Hutterite settlements to serfdom. All these attempts were furiously resisted and ultimately failed.³³

The economic powers which Hutterites acquired during the sixteenth century are best demonstrated by the fact that Hutterites did effectively impose economic sanctions on some noblemen by

withdrawing their services. Landowners who proved to be unreliable or resorted to arbitrary actions had Hutterite settlements withdrawn from their estates.³⁴

The productive process in the settlements was organized in the following way: Each craft had its "Fuergestellten" (foreman) comparable with the position of the master in the Guild system. It was his duty to organize the work in the shop, to supervise production, to buy the raw material and to sell the goods.

In some of the more extensive crafts the specialist of the "Einkaeufer" (buyer) emerged. Realizing the advantages of large scale buying, Hutterites began to use their monetary fluency to acquire large quantities of raw material at low prices. An act against the Hutterite import of cheap wool was issued in the late 1500's. Hutterite records express concern with the unfavorable reaction which the buying of large quantities of raw material made on the general population. Buyers were reminded not to transport such raw material in one wagon train in order not to arouse adverse public opinion. These buyers also had the duty to market the goods produced. The various native crafts in Moravia producing their goods under the customary Guild or village craft system, came into fierce competition with the better organized Hutterites.

In order to minimize competition between members of a craft, the Guilds had regulated the use of manpower, capital and the

acquisition of raw material for its members. Hutterites, as an independent economic force, were free from these restrictions. Their only criteria determining the mode of production was the efficiency of such production. Therefore, some of the Hutterite crafts began to organize themselves on a semi-industrial basis. The leather industry, for example, bought hides and converted them in successive production processes to finished products. All crafts worked hand in hand attempting to minimize costs and avoiding the purchase of outside products. The pottery ware of Hutterites became known throughout Moravia and dominated the market for decades. The same was true in regard to knives and cutlery. Famous also were the Hutterite carriages which were much in demand among the Moravian nobility.

One feature of the Hutterite communities were their bath houses and their barber surgeons and physicians. They attracted many visitors from the surrounding areas.

The rational use of an efficient organization of labor and capital became a dominant characteristic of Hutterite settlements. Robert Friedmann writes:

... the net result was a rational establishment of great efficiency, something otherwise completely unknown in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries where the factory system had not yet been established.³⁵

It was under such rational organization of labor and calculated use of capital that the original financial rules for each craft became untenable. Each "Fuergestellte" (foreman)

originally had to account for incoming and outgoing monies every two weeks. Such rules were designed for a small scale cash-over-the-barrel system typical for the very early communities. The use of working capital according to capitalistic principles contained elements of speculation. It meant that large amounts of money were tied up to take advantage of certain market conditions. Such use of capital required a rational financial control through the manager and preachers of Hutterite settlements. Such control was definitely in effect during the bureaucratic period, however due to the multitude of the trades more and more of this control was acquired by the "Fuergestellten" (foremen) and buyers who actually performed the calculations.

This rational use of labor and capital shifted power and responsibility to the middle strata of economic managers who ordered and regulated the activities of particular modes of production. The overall financial powers of the "Haushalter" (servant of necessities) who was supposed to control all major expenditures as well as incoming revenues slowly eroded. The various crafts attained a certain independence of action and decision making under the legitimate claim to act according to the criteria of greatest efficiency.

The result was that the economically powerful individuals discarded the narrow confinement of the ascriptive ties of the Gemeinschaft and freed the various communal resources for their own decision making. The manipulation of these resources once

they were freed, produced a new economic elite which immediately began to formulate rights and privileges for itself.

The personal and economic freedoms exercised by the economic elite transformed the personality structure of the individuals holding such positions. The integrative principle of the Hutterite socio-cultural system which demanded individual submission to the system and which made the attainment of rewards only possible by working through the system, became replaced by an attitude where the individual, in fact, saw himself as the manipulator of the system.

Such changes radically altered the whole integrative dynamics in the system. While the religious-ideological integration of the whole declined, the integration around economic subparts of the system increased.

Behavior patterns and personality structures changed accordingly. As the religious-ideologically determined patterns of restraints and personality structures of submission declined, new patterns of behavior and new personality structures reflecting the ongoing changes emerged. Personal behavioristic restraints became replaced by patterns of indulgence. Submission to the system became replaced by manipulation of the system for the benefit of the individual's material wants.

The unity of the whole system which was based on religious concepts originally gave rise to and facilitated the economic success and economic efficiency of the Hutterite group.

Economic success in turn destroyed the religious unity by diverting the emphasis of the system first from the religious to the economic area and secondly by catering to economic sub-branches rather than to the system as a whole.

These changes meant a shift from the religiously undifferentiated equal and unspecific social dynamics to economically differentiated, specific dynamics becoming highly structured in terms of privileges, customs rights, duties and traditions.

VARIABLE FIVE:

Type and degree of external relations between the
Hutterite group and the host societies

There were diverse external relations between the Hutterite sect and the various political, economic and religious forces of the Moravian and Hungarian host societies. These relations ranged from severe persecution aimed to destroy the Hutterite social and religious base to contractual co-operation and mutual support.

The nature of these relations and their effect on the Hutterite system is of the utmost importance to the understanding of the dynamics of the system as a whole.

During the early stages of Hutterite development, two periods of persecution occurred having basically the same nature and being dealt with by Hutterites in the same way.

The first period of persecution lasted for nearly two years beginning in 1535 and ending in 1537. The next period of persecution began in 1545. It increased in severity up to 1547, remained constant for several years and very slowly decreased after 1551, lasting up to 1554.

Both these periods of persecution were associated with political events only marginally related to the Hutterite phenomenon as such. The first period of persecution in 1535 was the direct result of the Anabaptist conquest of the city of Muenster in Northern Germany and the following unrest, war and final defeat

of this militant Anabaptist branch. In the wake of these events Anabaptism in general became subject to progrom-like actions. Unfortunately Jakob Hutter in his arrogant letter to Johann Kuna von Kunstadt, Landeshauptmann of Moravia had pre-empted the possibility of help and protection from the nobility in Moravia at that time.³⁶

The persecution began by refusing the Hutterites shelter and the means of livelihood in the form of tools and buildings. Forced to camp under open skies, the Hutterites soon began to organize themselves "kutteneis."

The nature of this organization has been described in chapter two in connection with a discussion of structural changes. The group as a whole was split in small groups of 10 to 12 persons who were left to care for themselves economically. These various small groups were held together by the religious leaders who administered their services by visiting the groups one after another. In this way a central authority and channels of communication between the groups were maintained.

In 1536 the group even managed to have a reunion in the forests around Nikolsburg and Bulgarn and to celebrate the Lord's Supper. The Hutterite group at this time was not the only Anabaptist group in Moravia. Some splinter-groups from which Hutterites had separated existed in various localities and were equally subject to persecution. Some of these groups tried to migrate to Poland but returned after this venture proved to be unsuccessful.

The wandering small groups of Hutterites seemed to have maintained themselves quite well during this time. Communication between the groups and between the group as a whole and the home country in the Tyrol was maintained. When the persecution ceased in 1537 Hutterites soon acquired a permanent home and immediately began to institute their Gemeinschaften.

The second period of persecution had its origin in the political decision made between the Catholic German Emperor Karl V and the Protestant princes forming the "Schmalkaldian Bund." The "Bund" formed in 1530 had fostered the cause of the Protestant Reformation in Germany. When Phillip of Hessen, one of the strongest members of the Bund, entered into an alliance with Karl in 1541, the power and initiative in the struggle between Catholic and Protestant forces shifted in favor of the Emperor. Pressed by Pope Paul III, with whom the Emperor entered into an alliance in June of 1546, and supported by Papal troops and money, the Emperor finally marched against the weakened Schmalkaldian Bund and managed to beat the Bund decisively in a number of battles.

However, the dominance of Karl V in the Empire was short-lived. The Pope withdrew his forces and in a series of political and military manoeuvres the German princes, Catholic as well as Protestant, managed to reduce the powers of the Emperor Karl V who finally resigned in favor of his brother Ferdinand. Religious and military peace was established in Germany in 1555.

Moravia, the host country for the Hutterite group, was acquired by King Ferdinand in 1527 after the death of King Ludwig II. The Hussitian nobility in Moravia which sympathized with the Schmalkaldian Princes rebelled in 1547. Ferdinand succeeded in subduing them quickly. Anxious to support the policy of his brother Emperor Karl V who tried to roll back the Protestant Reformation in Germany, he enacted harsh measures against the sectarian Anabaptist movements in Moravia. At the same time Ferdinand reduced some of the privileges of self-government enjoyed by the Moravian nobility. When Ferdinand became Emperor in 1555 the political situation had changed. Ferdinand, in fact, became Emperor of a confederated Empire reflecting the rising powers of the princes.

The Moravian nobility, looking back on a long tradition of religious tolerance, capitalized on this trend and rescinded the measures of persecution issued by Ferdinand. The "Golden Period" of the Hutterite sect began around 1554 and lasted to about 1592.

When the second wave of persecution began in 1545, the Moravian authorities, executing the orders of Ferdinand, were much better acquainted with the peculiarities of the Hutterite socio-cultural system than in 1535. First a law was enacted forbidding more than ten to twelve Hutterites to live together in one house. Later this number was lowered to around seven. This law aimed at the destruction of the Hutterite Gemeinschaft institutions without actually trying to destroy the economic base.

In 1547 persecution progressed to the point where Hutterites again were driven from house and home. These more severe forms of persecution aimed at the total destruction of the whole economic and social base of the Hutterite system. It stopped short of the physical extermination of its members. Due to the hardships that had to be endured, a great number of people actually died as the result of exposure and lack of nourishment. The protection of the law was completely withdrawn from members of the Hutterite sect, making them subject to all kinds of abuses. Hutterites could be robbed of their belongings without the punishment of the law.

Completely outlawed in the country of Moravia, the group attempted to survive through the splitting up into small groups as explained earlier. Attempts were made by these groups to migrate to Hungary, Poland and Austria. However, the result was that they were always driven back into Moravia. Small groups of Hutterites who were employed during certain times were refused payment. Accommodation was refused to them. At the peak of the persecution the sect members actually lived in holes and caves removed from the populated areas. During these times a number of sect members renounced their religious beliefs and left the group. But surprisingly enough new members joined during this period.³⁷

When the persecution subsided around 1554 enough of the essential substance of the Hutterite socio-cultural system was left to recreate the communal system. The period of vigorous growth

of the sect, following seven years of dispersion during which the social organization of the sect was utterly destroyed, demonstrates clearly the secondary character of the social structure. The real resources of the sect members were the individual conviction and the dedication toward a certain way of life. This dedication made it possible to overcome the structural limitations imposed on them during the period of persecution.

Within 15 years after the persecution ended and beginning with 1570, a special tax for Hutterites was considered by the Council of Estates in Moravia. By this time the sect had undergone such a rapid economic growth that taxing it became a worthwhile enterprise. Although this tax was postponed for a number of years, each Hutterite over the age of 10 years had to pay a head tax of four Groschens beginning with the year 1575. This tax was, in fact, a tax imposed on religious and social strangers because the Jews of Moravia had to pay the same amount.³⁸ During the next 10 years a running battle between the Hutterite sect and the Moravian authorities developed. What disturbed the Hutterites most was not the amount of tax but the purpose for which the tax was allocated. The Turks threatened to invade the country and Moravia as a whole had to contribute to the various military preparations. Since taxes allocated for military use were rejected by Hutterites on religious grounds, the Moravian authorities began to confiscate grain, horses and cattle and paid the taxes from the sale of these goods.

In 1585 the nature of the tax was changed. Instead of taxing individuals, the Hutterite kitchens were made subject to an annual tax. Although this tax increased quite consistently over the years, the various complaints of Hutterites during the next 35 years were more directed against the purpose of the tax than against the amount of tax.

Hutterites in the 1570's and 1580's already were a significant economic force in Moravia. Their economic strength and independence brought them repeatedly into conflict with the feudal powers under whose protection they lived. At a time when the feudal absolutism was at a rise almost everywhere in the German Empire, the safeguarding of the independence of this sect required acts of courage. Time and again feudal lords attempted to treat the sect members who had settled on their estates as serfs. They increased the rent and the working load; or they refused to pay the agreed prices for goods or wages. In all cases the Hutterite Brotherhood drew a line beyond which feudal arbitration was not tolerated.

Reluctantly but firmly the Brotherhood used its ultimate weapon available to it - the withdrawal of services. These withdrawals, however, always were associated with financial and material losses. Once the struggle reached a certain point the feudal lords simply began to confiscate Hutterite buildings, lands and livestock. In a number of cases the threat of withdrawal of services was sufficient to come to an agreement with the lords. In other cases

the feudal lords had second thoughts about such struggles and invited Hutterites back to their lands once their anger had diminished.³⁹

Despite the actual and possible losses, Hutterites never surrendered the freedoms, privileges and rights under which they desired to live. They were willing to and, in fact, did pay with material and financial losses for their stubborn insistence on contractual relations, freely negotiated between themselves and the members of the nobility. How significant this struggle for independence was demonstrates the meeting of all members of the Moravian nobility having Hutterite settlements on their holdings in September, 1614.⁴⁰ The feudal lords who met following the session of the Council of Estates in Bruenn, attempted to come to an agreement regarding uniform payments for all Hutterite servants, millers, managers, etc. working on their estates. They further attempted to determine the amount of work, time and kind of work to be performed by these Hutterite workers. However, the meeting was unable to come to any agreement because Hutterites managed to persuade several powerful lords to veto such an agreement.

The blame for disagreements between Hutterites and some lords was not to be found on one side only. Hutterites often interpreted their religious ideas in a rather freewheeling way. In some localities they helped preparing a lordly wedding only to discover at another place that they were unable to assist in such

worldly activities. Sometimes they helped build a Catholic Church and at other times they refused.⁴¹

When Hutterites began to use their economic strength to apply sanctions against the Catholic Church they made themselves an enemy who twenty years later took his revenge. When Franz von Dietrichstein, Lord of Nikolsburg returned in 1599 as newly ordained Cardinal, the Hutterite Brotherhood who had lived on his estate for more than 30 years wrote him a letter. Failing to address him with his newly acquired title, they informed him that they intended to work for him only on his Nikolsburg estate and refusing all work for those estates which he had acquired with his religious title. Moreover, they demanded that payments for their services were to come only from revenue of his Nikolsburg estates and not from his Church income. The Cardinal was furious.⁴² During the following years it was this Cardinal who invited a group of Jesuits to Nikolsburg who successfully broke up the Hutterite communities on these estates. After the events of 1619, the Cardinal made himself a willing instrument of Emperor Ferdinand II and drove the Hutterites out of Moravia.

In contrast to Hutterite hostility toward the Catholic nobility in Moravia stood their friendliness toward the A Catholic party in the country. The Lords of Zierotin proved to be consistent protectors of Hutterites. Around 1590 eighteen Hutterite communities were in operation on the estates of the Lords of Zierotin alone. Besides the economic advantages which Hutterites

produced for these Lords, the existence and toleration of this sect was a visible demonstration of the religious and political freedoms which the Moravian nobility claimed for itself ever since the Hussite Wars a century and a half earlier. They found other powerful protectors in the Dukes of Liechtenstein and the House of Waldstein. The legal position of Hutterites in Moravia was never clearly defined.⁴³ The Emperor in 1593 declared himself not competent when a landowner complained to him on legal differences with Hutterites. He referred the matter to the Bohemian Legal authorities, but these authorities declared likewise that they could not settle legal differences between Hutterites and the nobility. They suggested that Hutterites should be treated as subjects of the Lord under which they lived. However, it was this point which caused so many difficulties. Hutterites did not consider themselves subjects of estate owners but contractual partners. At a time when the social position of the peasant reached a low point, such contractual relationship was more than a novelty.

Those members of the nobility who respected the contractual nature of the Hutterite legal position seemed to have made the best experiences with Hutterites. The Lords of Zierotin, for example, made it a point never to deal with individual Hutterites but with the Hutterite leadership.

Such practices meant a recognition of the Hutterite leadership and the recognition of the special status of the group as a whole.⁴⁴ Implied in this recognition was the acceptance by the

nobility of the authority of the Hutterite centralized bureaucracy. The powers of this bureaucracy went so far as to handle in its own right criminal actions committed by Hutterite members.

In 1593 Sultan Murad III declared war on Emperor Rudolf II. During the following invasion of parts of Moravia, a number of Hutterite settlements were destroyed. With the beginning of unsettled political conditions, the Hutterite bureaucracy seemed to have resorted to a survival method which proved to be effective. Parts of the income of the sect as a whole were channelled into a Reserve Fund for the group. Their economic success as well as their asceticism in consumption seemed to have made such savings possible. There are no records referring directly to the amounts which Hutterites were able to save. Obviously it was much too risky to put such information on paper at the time. That Hutterites were able to accumulate a considerable Reserve Fund for emergencies, however, could hardly remain a secret. In 1596 the Emperor Rudolf II applied for a loan of several thousand Thalers but was turned down by the Hutterites.⁴⁶ In 1604 he applied again for 20,000 Guildens and again was turned down.⁴⁷

The Emergency Fund accumulated by Hutterites seemed to have made it possible for the sect to survive the plundering and destruction that followed with the Hungarian Rebellion in 1604/05 and the invasion of Moravia by the rebellious army of Stephan Bocskay. Moravia was invaded several times and a great number of Hutterite settlements were burned and robbed. The losses in

human life were considerable. Hutterites were murdered, raped, taken prisoner and sold into slavery. Despite these tragedies, however, Hutterites in 1613 began to move back into Hungary which was vacated by them when their settlements were destroyed.

The Hutterite records list the destruction of 16 settlements during the decade 1600 to 1610. 81 persons were murdered and 250 sold into slavery. During the next nine years, 90 of those sold into slavery were able to return to the settlements.⁴⁸

During this time Hutterites made an unsuccessful attempt to settle in Prussia. A group which tried to establish itself near Elbing in Prussia was violently threatened by the Guilds of that city and had to return to Moravia.

There was a period of relative freedom until the outbreak of the "Thirty Years War" in 1618. The nobility in Bohemia complained about restrictions of religious freedoms which were granted to them in 1609. When the Emperor accused them of being rebels, they performed the memorable act of throwing the imperial counsellors out of the windows. During the following years the Hutterite settlements were plundered and destroyed by all feuding parties. Emperor Ferdinand II who succeeded Rudolf II in 1619 prescribed to the enlightening motto: "Rather a desert than a land full of heretics."

Seventeen Hutterite settlements were plundered and burned

in 1619. During the year 1620 a number of settlements were vacated. About 3,000 Hutterite refugees fled to Sabatisch in Hungary. Due to countless acts of rape, syphilis was widespread among Hutterites and reached epidemic proportions. About 500 persons died as the result of this disease during this year.

Emperor Ferdinand II, with the assistance of Cardinal von Dietrichstein, arrested four Hutterite leaders and succeeded in obtaining the locations of several of their emergency funds. They confiscated about 20,000 Thalers in hard currency. With this money a whole estate could be bought.⁴⁹ In 1622 Ferdinand II finally succeeded in closing all Hutterite settlements in Moravia. The number of settlements declined from 43 to 24 from 1619 to 1622. Hutterites were driven over the Hungarian border leaving behind holdings valued at 364,000 Thalers.⁵⁰

The exodus reduced the membership of the sect by about one-third. However, the emergency fund which Emperor Ferdinand II was unable to find saved the rest. Most Hutterites found a crowded home in those few settlements which existed in Hungary. Epidemics swept through these overcrowded places and reduced the population further.

Despite these tragedies, however, the Hutterite socio-cultural system showed remarkable strength and organization. It effectively dealt with a crisis in leadership when the Hutterite bishop betrayed some of the hidden treasures to Ferdinand II. The exodus from Moravia did not take place in confusion but was organized.

Emergency accommodation for refugees was established. Financial resources were distributed such that the greatest forms of suffering were at least made endurable. Moreover, as soon as the sect reached Hungary it immediately began to rebuild a new economic base. This effective leadership and the disciplined response of the membership toward the leaders showed that the sect possessed internal cohesion and morale. In fact it was so effective that the sect refused the aid which was offered to it by various Mennonite groups in Prussia.⁵¹

During the previous four or five decades, Hutterites had created a centralized bureaucracy which enabled them to deal effectively with the various external and internal problems. Their undefined status in the country, their strivings for independence and their economic interest and success made it mandatory to build a bureaucracy which was able to handle all matters of concern to the group. At the same time, this bureaucracy raised and socialized a membership which readily responded to the decisions of the bureaucrats. Closing a Hutterite settlement was never a concern of a single settlement but a concern of the group as a whole. This meant that various principles which the sect as a whole attempted to uphold, were fought out in particular incidents regardless of whether the members directly involved were in favor of any particular decision or not.⁵²

Such a development, of course, led to the establishment of a disciplined membership looking for advice and leadership toward

the central organization. With a membership oriented toward a centralized authority the system began to lose the active individuals which it formerly possessed. While the perpetuation of the system during the previous period of persecution depended on the individual decisions of dedicated and thoroughly convicted individuals, the individual in 1622 depended on the smooth functioning of a highly effective bureaucracy which in some form or another took care and responded to his most pressing needs.

The Hutterite bureaucracy in the decade from 1620 to 1630 saved the sect from extinction. At the same time it made the individual so dependent on the central bureaucracy that more and more areas of life came under bureaucratic rules and regulations.

Although the tribulations of the war in Hungary lasted to about 1627, a relative period of stability followed up to 1644. During this time Hutterites repeatedly came in conflict with feudal landowners. Sabatisch, one of the oldest Hutterite settlements in Hungary, burned down twice. The period from 1627 to 1644, however, was comparatively free from economic losses, plunder and persecution, very much in contrast to the rest of the German Empire where the Thirty Years War ravaged in all fury.

However, it is clear that the sect was unable to accumulate reserve funds for further emergencies. When further tribulations of war were imposed on the sect, a progressive erosion of the economic base set in. In 1665, three years after the death of Andreas Ehrenpreis, the sect sent two delegates to the Mennonite

settlements in Holland to solicit aid. Although this aid was given to them it proved to be ineffective.

With the death of Andreas Ehrenpreis, the bureaucratic organization of the sect collapsed. The effectiveness of this bureaucracy beginning around 1640 depended on the leadership qualities of this one man. Once he was dead the group was unable to replace him with an equally able person. When Hutterite leaders around 1620 proved to be ineffective, the sect did not hesitate to replace them quickly with better leadership material. This quick response of the bureaucratic office holders demonstrated the social dynamics which were still present in the sect at that time. After 1662 these social dynamics were non-existent. The overall leadership, planning and executive powers of the bishop declined rapidly after that time. With such decline the individual settlements became more and more dependent on the local conditions. In Moravia the sect was willing and able to fight for principles deemed necessary. ("Entschlossen alles in die Schanze zu schlagen")(Determined to risk everything). Forty years later such self-determination was gone. While it is true that further tribulations through war put the sect under tremendous strains, the religious persecution at that time had stopped.

New possibilities through migration to other countries opened itself to the sect but were not followed up. In 1655 the elector Carl Ludwig opened his estates for Hutterites and one settlement, receiving generous privileges, was set up in Mannheim

at the River Rhine.⁵³ But the possibilities of further migration of the sect declined with the decreasing ability of overall planning and the decreasing quality of the central bureaucratic powers. Andreas Ehrenpreis at that time fought against overwhelming odds for the simple existence of the sect. There was neither the economic base nor the energetic social support to come to far reaching decisions for the secured future of the sect.

The rest of this development is anti-climatic. The remaining Hutterite settlements in Hungary and Transylvania, being without effective leadership and overall planning and having lost the social energies to re-institute such leadership and planning, struggled along for another 20 years until they finally succumbed to the constant tribulations of war and economic destruction. Singled out by marauding soldiers because of their large buildings and kitchens, the settlements decided in 1685 to return their lands and holdings to the feudal lords under which they lived and asked for personal property. With this decision the community of consumption and production was eliminated. It did not even re-appear when the war finally ended and normal conditions returned to Hungary and Transylvania.

Summary and conclusion.

The interaction of the Hutterite sect with various external forces facilitated the following dynamic processes:

1.) During the first two decades there were two periods of

persecution during which the Hutterite communal and economic organization was utterly destroyed. The destruction of the communal and economic base threw the Hutterite individual back on his own personal resources. In small groups hardly larger than two families the Hutterite individuals were so well motivated and so dedicated to their beliefs that they survived even the prolonged and most cruel period of persecution between 1547 and 1554. Organizational features were at a minimum. Informal relations and informal leadership was maximized. The individual acted on the basis of a "Weltanschauung" which enabled him to overcome set-backs and tribulations.

2.) During the "Golden Period" the interchange between the sect and its host society became dominated by political, economic and legal matters. In response to these problems Hutterites developed a centralized bureaucracy which handled the affairs of the sect as a whole. This bureaucracy was able to establish itself as the unchallenged authority of the group recognized by the external forces. It was supported by a loyal and disciplined membership.

3.) During the third and fourth period of persecution, 1593 to 1607 and 1619 to 1627, a strong and centralized bureaucracy planned with great foresight methods of survival and implemented them through bureaucratic channels. When war and economic destruction threatened part of the sect during the period 1593 to 1607, the distribution of the population was changed as to minimize the

vulnerability of the sect.

When in 1622 the whole sect was evicted from Moravia, this bureaucracy executed the exodus with great skill. It took great care that the destruction of the economic base was not followed by the destruction of the communal base as well. Hutterites fled in groups and resettled in groups under the guidance of their elected leaders. (Bureaucratic officials). In so doing the sect maintained the social base on which the Hutterite individual depended. The individual acted not on the basis of a Weltanschauung but on the basis of loyalty to his community. Due to the emergency funds, the bureaucracy was able to finance a rudimentary economic base from which a new beginning was possible. Leadership was plentiful, effective and skilled.

When a new wave of persecution began in 1644, the sect was in the middle of an internal struggle for supremacy between the crafts and the bureaucracy. Economic and political powers had parted and communal loyalties shifted to economic loyalties. Emergency planning lacked the economic support. Leadership was scarce, greatly skilled, but ineffective. With the death of the skilled leader the bureaucracy collapsed, putting the individual settlements in organizational isolation. Overall leadership and planning disappeared completely. The settlements left to themselves neither had the economic resources nor the mental courage to determine their own fate.

In short, these three processes signify stages of:

- 1.) Active idealistic individuals; little organization; non-specialization; great self-determination; great survival value; little economic concerns; great religious concerns.
- 2.) Disciplined individuals loyal to the community; a specialized and numerous group of extremely active leaders in the form of a bureaucracy; disciplined support for the bureaucracy; centralization; unity between economic and political powers; great self-determination; great survival value; greatly concerned with economics; progressively ritualistic religious concerns.
- 3.) Passive individuals few active leaders; split between economic and religious powers; economic orientation of individuals; centralization of political powers but unsupported by specialized and decentralized economic powers; ritualistic religious concerns.

VARIABLE SIX:

Numerical growth and decline of the Hutterite Sect

The two graphs showing the population and settlement estimates of the Hutterites during the last 430 years need the following guiding information for their interpretation.

The period from 1535 to 1622 shows a constant growth. Such growth was due to the facts that new converts joined the system (although the number of converts declined during this period) and the existence of favorable economic and political conditions which made an expansion of the sect possible.

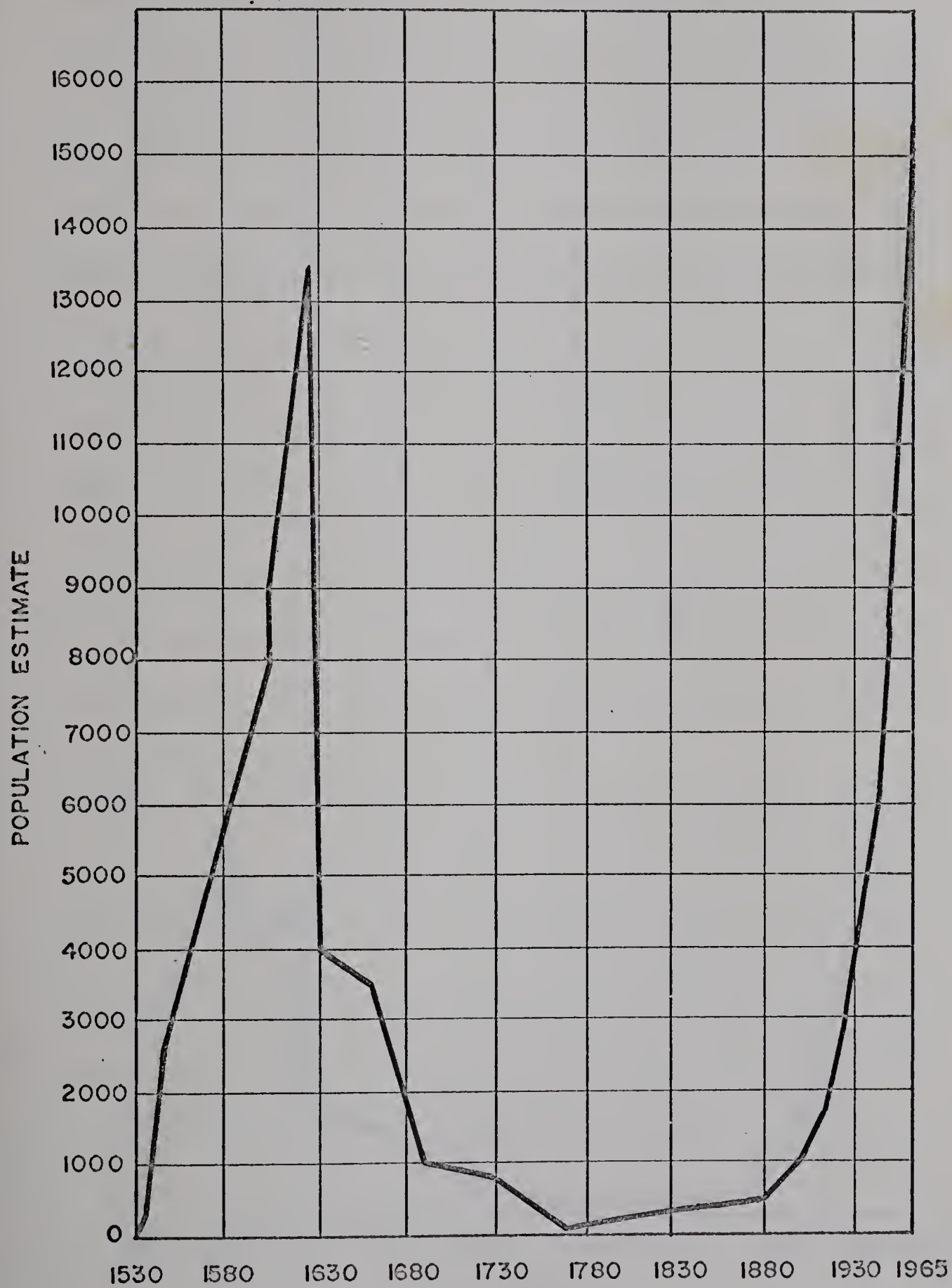
The estimates for this period were taken from František Hrubý's book "Die Wiedertaeufer in Maehren." (The Anabaptists in Moravia).⁵⁴

For various reasons Hutterites refused to give exact population estimates to the secular authorities. They even refused to give all the names of their various leaders. Due to these factors, Hrubý's estimates must be regarded as rough approximations.

The sudden drop of the population in 1622 was caused by the forced exodus from Moravia. The sect lost many members through defections and epidemics which decimated the population.

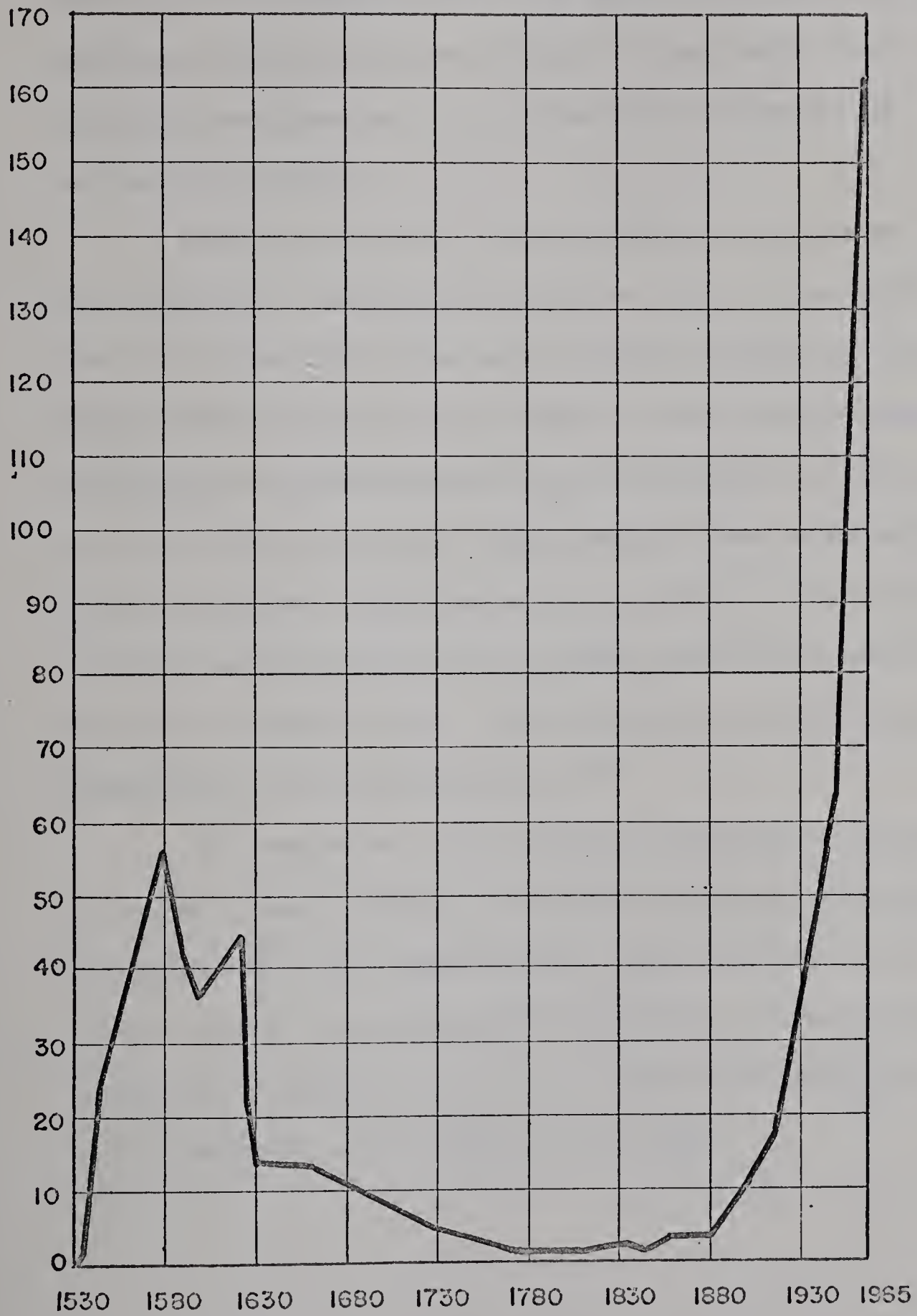
The population estimates in the middle and later parts of the seventeenth century are not too reliable either. They are mainly based on the number of settlements which could be determined at that time.

HUTTERITE POPULATION ESTIMATE 1535 - 1965 (WORLD)



Graph 5

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF HUTTERITE COMMUNITIES 1535 - 1965 (WORLD)



Graph 6

The estimates around 1730 become more reliable. Although there are no official sources, the various Hutterite historical writings indicate in several places how many people were living at various settlements. It is from this information that the estimates were drawn.

Beginning with 1761, the population estimates become very accurate. The number and even the names of the people involved in the third phase were reliably recorded by Hutterites. Around 1785 Hutterites became subject to the Russian census. Although this census material was not available for the present analysis, extracts of such census material were reported in: "Unsere Kolonien" (Our colonies) by A. Klaus.⁵⁵ The population estimates beginning with the year 1880 were taken from J.W. Eaton and Albert J. Mayer's book: "Man's Capacity to Reproduce, The Demography of a Unique Population."⁵⁶

The last phase of the Hutterite development is characterized by the well known population explosion caused by the decline of the death rate. How important this rapid increase of the population was in providing the system with a dynamic problem that eventually translated itself into a functional integration, is being discussed in later parts of the paper.

Analysis of Data

A comprehensive analysis of the data in terms of the problem will be conducted at the end of this paper after the data for the remaining phases has been presented.

For the present time some side issues will be evaluated in relation to the data of phase one which seem to focus on sociological concepts of long standing. These issues centre around sociological concepts as Gemeinschaft, Gesellschaft and Bureaucracy. In addition an attempt will be made to present the dynamics of phase one in a generalized form.

Perhaps it is appropriate at this point to recall the reasoning expressed in the succession of hypotheses outlined in chapter II. We attempted to depict the dynamic processes of phase 1 of the Hutterite socio-cultural system by postulating the following three hypotheses:

- 1.) The quality of the personality structure in the Hutterite socio-cultural system in terms of the "call" or conversion experience changed as the recruitment of the membership changed from one of conversion into the system to socialization in the system.

In this context the term "quality of personality structure" was defined as the individuals orientation toward either the ideological whole of the system or toward integration around subparts of the system.

The next hypothesis continues to postulate the further dynamics which occurred after the state postulated in the first

hypothesis was reached.

- 2.) As the personality structure in the Hutterite socio-cultural system changed from a concentration on the whole of the system (the ideological principle of integration) to a concentration on the parts of the system, qualitative differentiation and progressive mechanization in terms of legalistic, contractual and customary relations emerged in the system. Such new relations produced a loss of regulability of the system as a whole.

The third hypothesis attempts to express the effects of the processes postulated in hypothesis two on the integration of the system as a whole.

- 3.) The Hutterite socio-cultural system discarded the social structure of the community of goods when the concentration of the integrative forces had changed from an integration into the whole of the system (the "call" of the individual toward the central principle) to an integration around subsystems or individual positions. (The pull of the individual toward his job, status, customary rights, etc.)

The postulated changes in the personality structure of Hutterites due to the changes in the recruitment of the members from conversion to socialization are consistently reflected in such diverse areas of human behavior as religious-ideological creativity and adherence to informal laws of social behavior. As the indicators of the religious-ideological creativity drop sharply at the end of the life-span of the first generation of Hutterite members, the requirements for formal laws of daily behavior emerge and are reflected in the issuing of Gemeindeordnungen.

The change from conversion to socialization is not under-

stood to signify a simple causal chain, but to stand for a complex constellation of interacting factors. Some specific processes like the progressive ideological closure of the system and the economic growth of the system are part of the development. The change from conversion to socialization, which is taken as the independent variable, is only of importance because this variable is intrinsic to all ongoing socio-cultural systems and therefore unavoidable to all systems which are self-perpetuating in terms of their membership. The same need not be true with respect to a progressive ideological closure or economic growth, etc.

A fuller statement depicting the dynamics of the early Hutterite socio-cultural system would read as follows:

- 1.) A Gemeinschaft system being characterized
by the community of goods; being rationally
integrated around a central principle of
equality; having a fairly large division of
labor; being characterized by economic growth
and being in a state where it closes itself
progressively against outside ideological
forces;...
changes the personality structure of its members
as soon as the recruitment of such members
changes from one of conversion to that of
socialization.

This apparently confirmed hypothesis, however, is much too specific to be of any great use for sociological theory. Although it seems to describe the dynamics in the Hutterite system fairly well, the question nevertheless arises whether a more generalized proposition can be derived from it.

Looking at the above statement in terms of integration and participation of the individual in the system, the following general postulate can be made:

- 1.) The greater the integration of the individual in the religious-ideological whole of a socio-cultural Gemeinschaft system the lesser the need for formal laws regulating social behavior.

This postulate, of course, is in agreement with a great number of sociological studies coming to essentially the same conclusion.

However, an inspection of our data allows us to postulate the negative proposition also:

- 2.) The lesser the integration of the individual in the religious-ideological whole of a socio-cultural Gemeinschaft system the greater the need for formal laws regulating social behavior.

If one remembers that this postulate is again applicable to a Gemeinschaft system something new appears. The need for

formal laws, etc. is typically attributed in the scientific literature to the emergence of a Gesellschaft-type of socio-cultural system. The above stated postulate, however, maintains that a Gemeinschaft system under certain conditions might generate the same need for formal bodies of law just as well as a Gesellschaft system does.

The body of formal laws among Hutterites was issued by a bureaucracy in charge of planning and upkeep of the social order. Ever since Weber's pioneering work on bureaucracy, the emergence of such a social structure was seen as a characteristic of a social system of a Gesellschaft-type.

The nature of the Gemeindeordnungen as they are available in their empirical form demonstrates clearly that a rational bureaucracy is, in fact, possible under certain conditions in a Gemeinschaft system. The outline of rights and duties of offices and positions in these Gemeindeordnungen resembles closely the job prescriptions in modern industrial bureaucracies. The insistence of Hutterites to maintain the hierarchy of offices in all their dealings and their insistence to maintain the channels of communication between offices again characterizes some of the essential features of a bureaucracy. Impersonality in regard to the decisions of the bureaucracy was demanded by the spirit of equality pervading the system. This again is one of the essential features of a bureaucracy. Appointment through a merit system rather than on the basis of kinship, etc. was attained in the

Hutterite socio-cultural system through the election procedures described earlier. Most important, however, is that Hutterite religious and economic legitimacy became based on enacted rules and regulations to which the person as an office holder was subjected to. His role as father, husband, etc. was sharply separated from this bureaucratic office.

The conclusions that follow from these observations are that a bureaucracy is not only a feature of a Gesellschaft but can be a feature of a Gemeinschaft as well.

This conclusion runs counter to the usual argument that a bureaucracy is a result of the structural changes from a Gemeinschaft to a Gesellschaft where a Gesellschaft is usually seen as a social structure of larger size. On the contrary the data demonstrate clearly that a bureaucracy is the result of social dynamics in a given system irrespective of size. One does not need to assume that the probabilities of occurrence of a bureaucracy in either a Gemeinschaft or Gesellschaft are the same. They probably are not. However, if a bureaucracy as a social type of behavior is the result of dynamic forces active within a socio-cultural system irrespective of the size of such a system, the argument which ascribes dynamic properties of change mainly to changes in size loses some of its validity. The Hutterite example demonstrates that the active forces within a system are the real determinants of a bureaucracy not the size.

The data which were presented indicate clearly that the rational structure of the Hutterite religious-ideology was capable to translate itself under the given conditions into a rationally structured social organization having extensive bureaucratic characteristics.

It is interesting to explore these implications in relation to some theoretical postulates formulated by Max Weber. He conceptualized four types of social action according to their mode of orientation:

- 1.) In terms of rational orientation to a system of discrete individual ends (zweckrational).
- 2.) In terms of rational orientation to an absolute value (wertrational).
- 3.) In terms of affectual orientation, especially emotional, determined by the specific effects and states of feeling of the actor.
- 4.) Traditional oriented, through the habituation of long practice.⁵⁷

The data very clearly indicate that the Hutterite social relations proceeded from a "wertrational" orientation to a "zweckrational" orientation. The term "wertrational" in this context is synonymous with what we have called the "call" or "conversion experience." The "zweckrational" orientation in the Hutterite system emerged with the solidification of a bureaucratic authority in the system.

Max Weber has conceptualized three pure types of

legitimate authority corresponding closely to the above quoted types of social actions:

- 1.) Legal authority: resting on the "legality" of patterns of normative rules and the right of those elevated to authority to issue commands.
- 2.) Traditional authority: resting on an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of the status of those exercising authority under them.
- 3.) Charismatic authority: resting on devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, heroic or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him.⁵⁸

Max Weber sees the emergence of a bureaucratic authority quite clearly as the result of an inner dynamic of the system; the Hutterite example seems to demonstrate that "wertrational" (ideological) and "zweckrational" (purposeful) orientation can as a mixed type exist side by side for several decades. Both of these types of rationality can give rise to a particular form of bureaucracy.

The early completely "wertrational" (ideological) orientation of the Hutterite socio-cultural system already produced a hierarchy of offices elected through a merit system (ideological and social merits and abilities); it produced a chain of command between offices; it produced rationally enforced equality in the system and it produced a rational overall planning for the whole of the system. However, it failed to produce for

the first generation the written laws and regulations of the Gemeindeordnungen because these regulations were not necessary under conditions where the individual was "wertrational" oriented toward the religious-ideological principle of integration.

For this first "wertrational" period the Hutterite socio-cultural system created a "bureaucracy at the top" consisting largely in the bureaucratic organization of the charismatic disciples whose election was institutionalized.

During the middle period a mixed "wertrational" and "zweckrational" orientation was prevalent. At this time it became necessary to extend the "bureaucracy at the top" with an appropriate structure covering the general behavior of individuals through the various Gemeindeordnungen. During this time the bureaucratic structure was most complete and most effective.

The later period of the Hutterite socio-cultural system is characterized by the "zweckrational" orientation of individuals in the system. However, far from maintaining the bureaucracy, the zweckrational orientation of individuals under the given circumstances in fact destroyed the existing bureaucracy. This is to say that "zweckrational" behavior of subparts in a socio-cultural system can be destructive of the bureaucratic structure attempting to integrate the whole of the system.

The conclusion follows that a bureaucracy is not one structure characteristic of one type of socio-cultural system, but it is a structure that comes in various degrees in relation

to various socio-cultural systems. A bureaucracy is one structural solution to the problem of integration. To see at this point that it contains such postulated dynamics as differentiation, progressive mechanization, centralization and decentralization is not difficult.

The hierarchy of offices, the chain of command, rules and regulations were created and solidified in terms of their functions designating the processes of differentiation, etc.

Bureaucratic regulations then were the answer to the problem of integration in the Hutterite socio-cultural system after the non-bureaucratic "call" which provided the integrative force for the behavior of the individuals failed to be maintained in the system. (Or better expressed, slowly declined in the system.)

Processes of differentiation were hypothesized in the second hypothesis. However, the second part of the hypothesis states that a loss of regulability of the system occurred. Such a prediction cannot be accepted according to the data. The differentiation of the system leading to the emergence of a strong central bureaucracy proved to be very effective in dealing with adverse forces external to the system.

A loss of regulability occurred only when the forces of centralization in the system became opposed by forces of decentralization in the system.

The emergence of a centralized bureaucracy in the Hutterite

socio-cultural system implied a gain in the regulability of the system as a whole. Without such a bureaucracy the system would hardly have had the ability to overcome the persecution between 1620 and 1630.

A loss of regulability occurred only after the ongoing dynamics of differentiation and progressive mechanization not only had produced a strong centralized bureaucracy, but also produced a strong decentralizing tendency capable of challenging the bureaucracy. From the same common stem antagonistic social dynamics followed, leading to internal contradictions in the system.

The gallant bishop Andreas Ehrenpreis fought the struggle for a strong centralized power against the decentralizing trends of subsystems, refusing their co-operation and challenging the legitimacy of the central bureaucracy.

This struggle between the centralizing and decentralizing forces in the system was, in part, due to the fact that no effective system of sanctions emerged applicable to a "zweckrational" bureaucracy. The sanctions that were maintained by Hutterites were based on a socio-cultural system integrated by the adherence to the "call" of the individual. However, with the disappearance of the "call" (or wertrational) behavior, the effectiveness of the sanctions disappeared also. The absence of an effective system of sanctions made it impossible to check the ongoing dynamics of decentralization. (Deviant behavior around subsystems -

mostly economic subsystem.) Thus it was the unequal development of various subsystems which produced a progressive disintegration in the system as a whole.

No less important was the fact that no new system of rewards emerged in the system as the result of the changes from the "call" (wertrational) to zweckrational (rational purposeful behavior). The particular nature of the Hutterite Gemeinschaften determined the system of rewards in terms of its ideological commitment. Like the system of sanctions, the system of rewards could not change without destroying the ideological and structural premises. After all, the Gemeinschaft of production containing the redistribution of goods was the cornerstone of the system. While the Hutterite bureaucracy demanded purposeful behavior on the part of the individual for the good of the community, it denied such purposeful behavior by the individual for his own material good. The neglect of individual material and psychological desires was tolerable to the individual acting under the "call" or wertrational orientation, but it proved intolerable for the individual who had lost this orientation.

Once the "wertrational" (ideological) orientation of the Hutterite individual declined, this individual emerged as a psychologically and materially underprivileged person.

Max Weber showed that the rational religious orientation of the Calvinist and Puritan sects was transformed into rational secular activities. The famous "Ironsides" of Cromwell and the

rational calculative entrepreneur of the 18th century were diverse examples of such rational applications. The point is that in all these transformations the ego of the individual was allowed to expand and to draw favorable images about itself. The rationality of the sects, in fact, produced a Protestant Aristocracy which looked down on the irrational helpless sinner as an inferior creature. The equally rational Hutterite was not allowed to undergo this ego expansion. Being part of a closely knit community exercising a tremendous social control and being dedicated to a submergence of his ego in group activities and group goals he found himself in an unsolvable dilemma.

Calvinist and Puritan rationality led to individualism.
But the collective orientation of the Hutterite community blocked the development of individualism in this sect.

The rational orientation of the Hutterite sect members which was not allowed to expand into the development of individualism was to be directed toward a rational participation in collective goals. This was expressed in the Hutterite ideal of education and socialization. But individual rationality and collective participation turned out to be a contradiction in terms.

The closed and total Hutterite community did not provide the social environment favorable for the exercise of rational choices and decisions for the bulk of its members. Except for a small group of rational bureaucrats most members had to orient

themselves toward customary or bureaucratic rules and regulations. Such newly emergent orientation spelled the end of individual rationality.

With the end of the "wertrational" orientation of individuals, the pull toward traditional, customary and cultural patterns of behavior increased. This was the moment when the individual began to feel psychologically and materially deprived. In behavioral terms it meant the emergence of deviant (creative) behavior where individuals made claims regarding their tools, their work, their children, etc.

As the rational orientation (the "call", etc.) in the sect decreased the emotional and cultural behavior patterns among individuals increased and translated themselves into antagonistic forces acting in the system.

In short, the struggle between forces of rational bureaucratic centralization and emotional individualistic decentralization in the Hutterite socio-cultural system were at least based on two antagonistic dynamics:

- 1.) As the Gemeinschaft system changed from an integration around the "call" (wertrational) to that of a bureaucratic integration (zweckrational purposive) it failed to invent new forms of sanctions and rewards appropriate to these changes.

2.) As the system changed from a motivation around the "call" (wertrational) to that of a bureaucratic motivation (zweckrational purposive) it failed to invent a new system of motivation appropriate to these changes.

The last stage of the Hutterite socio-cultural development between 1535 and 1685 is characterized by the struggle for unity conducted by a central bureaucracy having neither an effective system of motivation, sanctions nor rewards. Without such systems the rational bureaucratic authority could not be maintained.

Under conditions where the integrative ideological principle had lost its motivating effectiveness and under conditions where the centralized bureaucracy had no effective system of rewards and sanctions to enforce its supremacy the shock-like structural adjustment to discard the community of goods was functionally unavoidable. By discarding the community of goods the inhibitory communal restrictions on the system of rewards were removed and a new system of motivation based on private gain injected.

With the abolition of the community of goods, the Hutterite socio-cultural system discarded a structural shell in which, during this period 1535 to 1685, the whole dynamic system was framed. The dynamics confined to this structural shell in the form of the community of goods had exhausted its more obvious possibilities.

In the very early stages the dynamics existed in the dominance of the religious-ideology, forceful enough to overcome persecution and

structural insecurities. During the middle stages the dynamics led to the emergence of a bureaucracy effective enough to overcome the exodus of 1622.

Only after both - the ideological integration and the bureaucratic-functional integration - were greatly weakened through the contradictory processes in the system as a whole was the structural shell of the community of goods discarded. It collapsed at this time because the system was unable to create for itself new forms of existence within the same old shell. This is not to say that the system had exhausted all possible forms of existence. It just found a new existence in an altered form.

In fact, the system did nothing more than remove its internal contradictions between centralizing and decentralizing dynamics.

With the removal of these antagonistic dynamics the system removed also its structural differentiations and mechanizations. By removing the aged and mechanized community of goods at the end of its development it did, in fact, fall back on a new level of undifferentiation.

Summary

Looking at the whole of the first phase of the Hutterite development, two fundamentally different dynamic patterns can be distinguished; each of which in turn is characterized by dynamic subpatterns.

1.) The Group forming dynamics from 1527 to 1535

These group forming dynamics were characterized by self selective fractionalizations of potential group members over relevant religious ideas. The dynamics of these processes were one of contractions.

a.) The formation of a cohesive and limited membership possessing a personality structure characterized by the "call" (wertrational).

b.) The formation of a consistent ideology characterized by the central principle of unity between God and man and equality between man and man.

c.) The objectification of the central principle in the form of the various Gemeinschaften.

2.) The Group elaborating dynamics from 1535 to 1685

The group dynamics of this period were of an institutional elaborating and expanding nature under conditions of personal equality.

Several periods can be distinguished:

A.) The period of the "call". 1535 to 1570 (wertrational or ideological period.)

a.) During this period the Hutterite group was an open system in terms of ideas and members.

- b.) The group was religiously and economically creative.
- c.) The group was expanding in terms of new converts.
- d.) The group was governed by the informal understanding of the "call" based on the legitimacy of the central principle.
- e.) The group possessed great self-determination.

Theoretical relevant conclusion:

Processes of institutional differentiation in the group took place but were checked and channeled by the ideological commitment toward equality (personal undifferentiation) to which the membership ascribed.

B.) The period of bureaucratic differentiation. 1570 to 1630.

(Zweckrational period.)

- a.) During this period the Hutterite system began to close itself in terms of ideas and members.
- b.) The religious creativity declined and economic creativity was at its height.
- c.) The expansion of the group in terms of new members declined and the main expansion was achieved through socialization.
Defection of members began.
- d.) The group became governed by formal rules,

regulations and role prescription based partially on a purposeful legal functional legitimacy.

e.) The group possessed great self-determination.

Theoretical relevant conclusions:

The group progressively mechanized in terms of rules and role prescriptions and centralized in terms of an emergent bureaucratic structure. With the disappearance of the ideological legitimacy in the group, contradictions were introduced into the group. The motivational system as well as the system of rewards and punishment based on the ideological legitimacy became meaningless under a bureaucratic form of legitimacy. The system as a whole, therefore, contained contradictory dynamics.

C.) The period of structural adjustment. 1630 to 1685.

- a.) During this period the system was a closed system in terms of religious ideas and members.
- b.) The group was religiously and economically non-creative.
- c.) The group was declining in membership due to defectors.
- d.) Group conduct was neither governed by an ideological nor legal legitimate authority, but was characterized by a state of progressive anomie.

- e.) The self-determination of the group was low.
- f.) As a result the structure of the Gemeinschaft was radically altered and the community of love invented.

Theoretical relevant conclusions:

The contradictions in the group between the progressive legal mechanization characterized by the bureaucratic centralization and the decentralizing tendencies of subparts originating in the retention of an ineffective system of motivation, punishment and rewards; was decided in favor of the decentralizing forces.

Footnotes - Chapter III

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²⁵Ibid., p. 172.

²⁶Ibid., p. 164 ff.

²⁷Ibid., p. 157.

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³⁰Zieglschmid, op.cit., Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brueder, p. 97.

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³²Beck, op.cit., Die Geschichtsbuecher der Wiedertaeufer, p. 364.

³³Wolkan, op.cit., Das Grosse Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brueder, p. 447.

³⁴Ibid., pp. 527-533.

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³⁸Hrubý, op.cit., Archiv fuer Reformationgeschichte, XXX Jahrgang 1933, p. 187 ff.

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⁴⁰Ibid., p. 514.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 458.

⁴²Ibid., p. 459.

⁴³Hrubý, op.cit., Archiv fuer Reformationgeschichte, XXX Jahrgang 1933, p. 204.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 205.

⁴⁵Wolkan, op.cit., Das Grosse Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brueder, pp. 443. ff., p. 456, 476.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 443.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 476.

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 482 ff.

⁴⁹Hrubý, op.cit., Archiv fuer Reformationgeschichte XXXI Jahrgang 1934, pp. 69-74.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 79.

⁵¹Wolkan, op.cit., Das Grosse Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brueder, p. 670.

⁵²Ibid., p. 516.

⁵³Beck, op.cit., Die Geschichtsbuecher der Wiedertaeufer in Oesterreich-Ungarn, p. 492.

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⁵⁶Joseph W. Eaton, and Albert J. Mayer, Man's Capacity to Reproduce: The Demography of a Unique Population, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1954.

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CHAPTER IV

The re-establishment of the community of goods. (Phase Two, 1685-1761)

The structural adjustments which were made when the Hutterite sect finally discarded the community of goods resolved the actual and concrete contradictions in the system outlined in the last chapter. However, this adjustment at the same time created a new potential contradiction.

The Hutterite Weltanschauung, as convincingly stated earlier, was one of unrelenting unity of belief and action. Although this unity was neglected by members who professed it but actually did not believe it, the possibility nevertheless remained that any group capable of re-acquiring the convictions necessary for believing the Hutterite creed would, by necessity, have to remove these contradictions and re-establish the community of goods.

The question is: What social dynamics would bring about such a development?

To avoid any misunderstanding at this point we are not saying that the contradictions had to be removed under all circumstances. Compartmentalization of contradictory ideas and action is, of course, possible.

Rather the question we are asking is: What are the necessary social dynamics capable to re-create a new integration between religious ideas and the social structures (in this case the community of goods), such that the two become again meaningfully integrated?

Obviously the best prediction that can be made under these circumstances is to postulate that the same dynamic processes that led to the formation of the Hutterite sect in the first place will likewise play a part in the re-establishment of the system during the second phase.

In the summary of the last chapter, two master processes were outlined. The first of these processes referred to group forming dynamics and the second to group expanding dynamics.

Could it be the case that phase two of the Hutterite socio-cultural development from 1685 to 1761 could contain such group forming dynamics which in 1761 translated themselves into the re-establishment of the community of goods, followed again by a group expanding phase from 1761 to 1819?

Obviously this is theoretically possible, however the answer to this question should be sought in the empirical historical data.

Hutterite social development 1685 to 1761

Of the Hutterite groups in Hungary and Transylvania which discarded the community of goods around 1685, four groups in Hungary and one group in Transylvania survived the next 75 years. These communities were mainly organized around the religious institution of the community of love. The preacher was elected and ordained by the community. His upkeep was provided for through contributions regulated by the community. Religious exercises were traditionalized and ritualized. Schools for the teaching of children were maintained on

the same basis as the church. Welfare measures for widows and orphans were carried by the community on a need basis.

Each family had its private home and economic pursuits were a private affair.

The economic base of these individuals consisted partially of agricultural activities and partially of crafts.

Like the rest of the population, these people suffered severely from some plague epidemics that swept Hungary at the beginning of the 18th century. The population declined steadily and around 1750 not more than 500 to 600 people lived in these communities.¹

The Catholic authorities made sporadic attempts to baptize Hutterite children. They succeeded in doing so in the four settlements in Hungary but failed in the one settlement in Transylvania. After some resistance, which was most dramatically provided by Hutterite women rather than their husbands, children's baptism was accepted between 1730 and 1740.

However, the group secretly baptized the adult members of the group as soon as they were able to confess their faith.

No religious-ideological creativity is recorded during these periods. Religious writings produced during the previous century were abundant because these groups collected books from defectors who had no use for them anymore.

All in all these constantly declining groups led a shadow existence characterized by outward conformity toward Catholic religious norms on the one hand and passive resistance on the other.

Group existence was protective and pragmatic. The degrees of self-determination were at a minimum. In their attempts to protect a certain religious and social core, pragmatic compromises were entered into which slowly eroded the religious and social core to be protected.

Two independent events radically altered this process of slow acculturation.

In 1759 the Jesuits decided to convert the last remaining Hutterite group in Hungary to the Catholic faith. The Catholic and Lutheran religions were tolerated in Hungary although the Catholic church was more powerful. Hutterites did neither fit in one nor the other of these established and tolerated religious groups. The task to convert these Hutterite groups was given to members of the Society of Jesus.

The following methods — increasing in their severity — were used to convert the four communities in Hungary:

- 1.) Confiscation of religious writings. (Many Hutterite books found today in European libraries were acquired at that time by secular authorities). Due to the great number of available books, this method proved not to be effective at all. Hutterites simply hid the remaining books.

- 2.) Forced church sermons of a missionary character conducted by Jesuits.

This method was equally ineffective because Hutterite

preachers entered into shouting matches with Jesuits.

- 3.) Economic exhaustion by forcing Hutterites to dine and wine great numbers of soldiers and officials. When the private resources of Hutterites were exhausted parts of their land was forcefully sold and the proceeds used to pay for the enforced hospitality.

It was at this time that the groups held a meeting to decide what to do. Migration to another country was considered but finally the groups decided to do nothing.

- 4.) Arrest of community leaders followed by the arrest of most adult males. The community leaders were held in cloisters, the rest in prisons. The adult imprisoned males were given a choice of 25 lashes every day or conversion to the Catholic faith. While the more heroic withstood this procedure for a day or two and some died as a result of their injuries, the rest gave in and converted. The community leaders were converted without lashes. They received a yearly rent of 50 Guildens. While every religious authority was taken away from them, they nevertheless were recognized by the religious and secular authorities of the country as the social leaders

of the community. The rest of the communities followed the example of the male members and the leaders and converted to the Catholic faith. To make the transition a little more endurable several Guildens were given to each family.²

Within four years the communities were stripped of their distinctive religious ideology. Its members were unable to deal with the forms of persecution imposed on them. Complete acculturation was the result.

The second event relevant for our analysis occurred quite independently from the Hutterite phenomenon as such.

Around 1750 the Lutheran faith began to make converts among the inhabitants of Carinthia, a part of the Austrian Empire which allowed only the Catholic faith for its populace. The Catholic authorities tried to subdue this emergent religious movement by first confiscating all religious writings not directly approved by the Catholic hierarchy. When these measures were unsuccessful, the members of the Lutheran movement were threatened with forced migration to the eastern parts of the Austrian Empire. For a number of Lutherans these threats were enough to return to the Catholic faith. The rest stuck to its religious convictions. When further threats proved to be ineffective, the Lutherans were arrested and their belongings confiscated. They were imprisoned in the City of Klagenfurt for two months where they were to perform prison work. They waited for another

two months in the City of Ybbs until they numbered around 270 persons. The Austrian authorities then shipped these people several hundred miles eastward to the Transylvanian city of Szaszvaros where the migrants were supposed to be resettled. Since the Lutheran faith was officially tolerated in Transylvania, the local Lutheran minister, acting under orders of the authorities, was to take an oath of loyalty to the Austrian Crown from the migrants.

While most of the migrants eventually consented to this oath a small group refused. They were punished by not receiving land and monies from the Crown nor did they ever get any compensation for the confiscated belongings in Carinthia.

When this small group proved to be troublesome for the authorities due to its influence on the new settlers, they were forcefully dispersed over the country.

By accident some of these Carinthians were settled near Allwinz, the only Hutterite settlement in Transylvania. Without any agricultural base of their own the Carinthians searched for work and two of them worked for Hutterites for about half a year.

During this time they came in contact with Hutterite religious ideas. They attended Hutterite sermons and received Hutterite religious writings. These Carinthians, who first called themselves Lutherans but then became disenchanted with this religion as well, existed in a religious vacuum. They became strongly attracted by the Hutterite ideas.

Shortly after this exposure to the Hutterite ideology, the dispersed members of this group moved to Kreuz, a village near the

Hutterite settlement, and in 1761 they spontaneously reinstituted a community of goods among themselves. A year later most members of the group received baptism from the preacher in the nearby Hutterite settlement. Following this initial act, they elected preachers from their own group.

During the next five years this group lived communally despite the fact that the Hutterite settlement of Allwinz from which they had received instructions, books and the first baptism was converted to Catholicism in the same manner as the Hungarian settlements. Some hard core members of the Hutterite group of Allwinz joined the Carinthians. Some members of the newly formed group were arrested and punished.

When finally the persecution began to catch up with this group also, they boldly packed their belongings on two wagons and fled across the Transylvanian Alps to Romania. All in all 67 persons took part in this exodus in the fall of 1767. About 40 persons recruited from the various Hutterite settlements that had converted to Catholicism joined the group around 1782. All living Hutterites today are descendants of these 100 persons who escaped from Hungary and Transylvania. They share only 16 family names among themselves.

An analysis of these two events reveals that the re-establishment of the community of goods in 1761 was accompanied by essentially the same group-forming dynamics that resulted in the establishment of the original Hutterite group between 1527 and 1535.

The old traditionally oriented Hutterite groups put up

resistance against their forced conversion. However, they possessed not the energy to come to effective decisions and to implement these decisions through appropriate actions. As a result these groups were unable to protect their religious ideology and without their ideology the group lost their cultural and social distinction.

In contrast to this development stood the process among the Carinthians. This group underwent selective processes before it was exposed to the same forces of conversion as the old Hutterites. The first selective process took place when the members of the Lutheran movement in Carinthia had the choice to revert back to Catholicism and remain in possession of their belongings, house and home or lose all these things and be forced to migrate to an unknown country facing an uncertain future.

The second selective process took place when a small group of these Carinthians refused to swear the oath of loyalty to the Austrian Crown. Again these members faced physical and material punishment for expressing their beliefs.

These selective processes led to the formation of a small but determined group united in its opposition to the Catholic and Lutheran authorities of the day. If nothing else, this group possessed the energy to act according to its convictions — something the old Hutterites had lost.

However, this selective process was a group forming process in terms of membership only. Between 1527 and 1535 we have seen that similar selective processes led to the formation of the first

Hutterite group and synonymous with the group forming process there was a selective process in terms of ideas as well, leading to a consistent ideology.

The Carinthian group did not form its own ideology - it adopted an existing ideology. However, in doing so it injected into the adopted Hutterite ideology its own group vitality, sense of conviction and dedication. This selected group of energetic persons, being without an accepted ideology, filled the traditionalized values, writings and teachings of the Hutterite religion with a new life and new actions. Not only did they believe, they also began to act according to their beliefs by re-establishing the community of goods.

Thus a new integration between belief and action on the basis of the Hutterite Gemeinschaft was re-created.

The role of the ideology in relation to group dynamics is interesting to note. The old Hutterites and the Carinthians were similar in social class and cultural background. The familiarity of Hutterites with the language and the customs of the country even gave them an advantage over the newly arrived Carinthians.

However, it was the Carinthians that boldly coopted the Hutterite ideology, filling it with new life and rejuvenating its Gemeinschaften. The old Hutterites suffered some persecution and then caved in. The Carinthians suffered persecution and consequently had the courage and conviction to rally their resources and initiate drastic actions in response to this persecution. These 67 persons

crossed the Transylvanian Alps at night, climbing the mountains on their hands and feets, having the children tied to their backs. They marched without food for several days and yet never were undecided about the rightness of their actions and the value of their cause.

Today's guerilla forces fighting for some ideology or social cause must possess similar dynamics. In all probability these dynamics emerged as the result of selective processes similar to those encountered twice in Hutterite history.

These dynamics, it seems, emerge in relative small groups. The selective factors have the function of sorting out the undecided and the doubting members which would paralyze the decision forming processes in the group.

These selective processes formed a social elite whose main characteristic was the creative ability to act decisively. This elite had a surplus of conviction and dedication which compelled it to translate it into action. This action typically pointed into the direction of the realization of an ideologically perceived cause or supreme value. It was the creation of such an elite which led to the re-establishment of the Hutterite system of the community of goods.

There is a far reaching and important lesson to be learned from these events. An ideology like the social structure is only a secondary social phenomenon. It represents a formal statement

containing some particular elements. The role which this ideology plays in the social process depends on something more intrinsic, namely, the energetic dynamic state of mind of individuals which fill the ideology with their enthusiasm and sense of conviction. Social creative action follows in the wake of such merger between energetic individuals and ideological elements.

Socially creative action, of course, is group action. While it can be assumed that society at all times produced such energetic individuals, only when these individuals have a chance to interact with each other is such creative group action possible. The selective processes which were observed twice in the historical development of the Hutterite sect seem to constitute one such dynamic mechanism which sorts out such energetic individuals from the general society and assembles them in groups. Once such a group is formed, the emergent group properties which develop as a result of the process of interaction and inter-stimulation of such energetic individuals are creative, expansive and dedicated to some ideological cause.

Footnotes - Chapter IV

¹Zieglschmid, op.cit., Das Klein Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brueder, pp. 201-230.

²Ibid., pp. 230-239.

CHAPTER V

The second collapse of the community of goods. (Phase Three)

The Carinthian group that fled to Wallachia stayed in that country for only two years. Due to the outbreak of the Russian - Tuerk War the group decided to migrate to Russia. With the help of a Russian General it finally settled in Wischink in 1770, about 120 miles notheast of Kiev.

Beginning with this time the group was not subjected to religious persecution nor to the tribulations of war. It settled on the estate of a Russian nobleman after entering into a contract relation.¹

This contract guaranteed them freedom of religion and the right to leave whenever they decided to do so. The dynamics in the system up to 1817, when the community of goods was again discarded, followed essentially the same processes of differentiation and progressive mechanization already outlined in the analysis of phase I. However, there were some important differences in the nature and duration of these processes which must be noted.

Due to the fact that the Carinthian group had adopted an established ideology rather than creating a new one, the ideological creativity of the group during the next few decades was nil.

The Carinthians looked at the old Hutterite ideology in terms of a complete and perfect system handed down to them from some wise fathers in the past. This meant that the ideology had traditional

status. It presented something intrinsically good and perfect. To change this was not appropriate.

The result was that the Carinthian group began to copy the old Hutterite writings without adding anything new. All available books and sermons were diligently collected and duplicates were made. A written liturgical calendar for the religious year was set up.

Under these circumstances the Carinthian group treated the old Hutterite ideology as a revelation. During the first phase, the ideology emerged as the result of an active struggle with everyday social and ideological problems. During the second phase the active struggle of the Carinthians had basically a negative character. The individuals that finally formed the group were against Catholicism, etc. but they did not proceed to formulate what they stood for. Under conditions where positive ideas were absent, they adopted an existing ideology.

The result in terms of the dynamic personality structure of the Carinthian members was that these individuals did not develop a "call" like the Hutterite founders 200 years earlier, but they were characterized by a spirit of "revival".

The difference between the "call" and "revival" experience is a qualitative one. The "call" signifies a creative outburst knowing no bounds but its own intrinsic guidelines. It is unconventional; it spills over the boundaries of the established and the customary; it is new and original in most of its parts.

The revival spirit is signified by the revitalization to some conventional and traditionalized value. It is non-creative but adoptive. It does not burst out with force, but is directed to the careful observation of some established values or rituals which are found to be right. Under the "call" the individual essentially is the measure of all things, even when he pretends to act according to the law of God (As he understands it).

The individual with "revival" spirit finds himself limited in thought and action by previous interpretations and prescriptions, but he revitalizes such interpretations enthusiastically. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Carinthians faithfully implemented the old social order of the Gemeinschaften. These people who were culturally adjusted to the marriage of their home country, suddenly began to practice the "matching" of husband and wife by the preacher. To be sure, such transition could not be made without difficulties, but eventually the rule was adopted.

The primary relations between husband and wife and parents and children were faithfully modeled according to the old Ordnungen. Children went to school in the way prescribed in the old School-Ordnungen. Mothers who were nursing their children lived together in extra quarters for about 12 to 14 months after giving birth to their children. The organization of labor also followed the old model. The Carinthians had brought with them a number of new crafts while the old Hutterites who joined the Carinthians were largely pottery makers.

The following crafts emerged, each having its own shop and occupational hierarchy:

Weaver, pottery maker, taylor, shoemaker, lathhand, hatmaker, carpenter, tanner, cabinetmaker, blacksmith, sheet metal worker, spinner, broom-maker, miller, distiller.

In addition, the traditional agricultural activities were continued, particularly gardening. A new agricultural branch was added by expanding into sericulture.

The brethren maintained two distilleries which produced 5,000 wredo of hard liquor a year. (1 wredo = 12.3 liter. 5,000 wredo = 903.7 imp. gallons). They had a flour mill with three milling stones and they manufactured winter as well as summer wagons, ploughs, harrows, cleaning equipment, spinning wheels, etc.²

Considering the size of the group, which around 1780 must have reached 150 persons, and considering further that a number of males had to fill such social positions as preachers, schoolteachers, manager, field-bosses, etc., the division of labor in the group was as high as it could be.

In the early 1780's the group successfully made converts among the old Hutterites who were left behind in Hungary and were converted to Catholicism. About 50 persons fled from Hungary and joined the settlement in Russia. By 1796, when further attempts were made to recruit new members, the delegates found that the former Hutterite population was already so loyal to its Catholic faith that

they had to fear for their lives. They returned without any hope of success. No missionary attempts were made after this time.

The community of goods began to flourish after the group reached Russia in 1770. Within a few years goods and monies loaned to them were repaid. The various crafts proved to be extremely productive and profitable. The community became a show case of success for peasants and nobility in the area. The members of the community earned a reputation in honesty, good work, cleanliness and morals.

In the early 1790's the group discovered that it was in danger of slipping into serfdom. As it was the custom in Russia, every person enumerated twice by the General Census on the estate of a nobleman was regarded as a subject of this nobleman.

Energetically the group fought for its freedom. It petitioned the Russian Emperor twice and finally won the right in 1801 to resettle on Crown land.

Being in the possession of capital, movable buildings and livestock the transfer gave them the opportunity to establish themselves on a better economic base.

This remarkable trend toward prosperity and independence suddenly reversed itself. Within 16 years the community collapsed.

The assistant of the office of trustees for foreign settlers, Fadgeew, who was ordered to investigate the difficulties of the Hutterite community, reported in March of 1818:

I noticed already at the beginning of my investigation that the root of the disunity of the Mennonites (the group was officially classed as Mennonites. Our remark) was to be found in the contradiction between the principles that were supposed to govern this group and the real concrete social conditions characterized by the corruption of the brethren...

... I found that the rules of ethics and indestructable single-mindedness which the founders of the community regarded as a duty were not observed anymore. These duties were in full force and produced the rare example of unity between several dozen families as long as their number was smaller; as long as they did not have their own land and as long as they had to divert some of their earnings to pay their local nobleman.

However, when the brethren began to occupy their present location which put them into the possession of 775 Desjatines of good land (1 Desjatine = 2.7 acres) and produced several other advantages for them, surplus was created within the group. Under conditions of an increasing population, several persons began to discover that it was possible to live by the work of others. Among the 50 families several began to neglect their duties and lived on the products of the diligent. At this time the tendency emerged to obtain private property and secure the earnings of one's work to the advantage of one's own family...³

Fadjeew went so far as to compare the earnings of the various crafts. He found that in 1817 seven weavers reported an income of 729 Rubels 6 Kopeks; seven pottery makers 969 Rubels 8 Kopeks; four smiths 711 Rubels 20 Kopeks; four cabinetmakers 404 Rubels 90 Kopeks and three hatmakers 586 Rubels 25 Kopeks.

The average revenue from each of these craftsmen:

729.06	
969.08	
711.20	
404.90	
<u>586.25</u>	
3400.25	$\bar{X} = 136.01$

was 136 Rubels.

Fadjeew regarded this revenue as unrealistic. The brethren received excellent prices for their products and had no trouble selling as many goods as they produced.⁴

The average income of each craftsman was as high as the yearly wages paid by the brethren for unskilled, hired farm hands and watchmen. It follows that large parts of the earnings were retained by the various crafts and were used for private purposes.

Another interesting observation which Fadjeew made was that among 50 families there were only 2 persons that were older than 50 years. The population totalled about 242 persons. The increase in population during the 16 years from 1801 was only 58 persons — a total of 24% in 15 years.

There were 106 children under the age of 15 years. This means that 43.8% of the population was under 15 years of age. The population was, therefore, extremely young. Comparing this figure with the Hutterite population of 1880 when 47.85% of the population was under the age of 15, not much difference can be noted.

Quite a difference, however, must be noted when the populations over 50 years of age are compared. In 1880, 7.02% of the population was 50 years and older. This is almost the same as the population

figures of 1950 when 6.48% of the Hutterite population was 50 years and older.

Attempting to interpret these figures, two things must be noted:

- 1.) Since the community of goods came into being around 1861 and since in 1817 only 2 persons were over the age of 50 , practically the whole of the population did not belong to the founders of the system. There was actually only one person - the senile preacher - who still belonged to the founding members. The first generation of members had died off.
- 2.) The lack of older members made for a decapitated society in terms of leaders. The older leaders for some reason or other had died. No or little leadership material in the form of older persons was left. This factor caused a sudden mobility of junior members into leading positions.

The last remaining founding members of the community of goods died between 1800 and 1810. The Hutterite records of that time list the names of the deceased leaders of this decade and continues:

When these beloved diligent men and elders completed their life after a good struggle and attained their eternal rest (together with many truthful sisters and brothers, officials of the shops and other places who

all had the good of the Gemeinschaft at their hearts), new people were elected to take their place...

...but it soon became apparent that most of them had neither the loyalty, integrity nor the diligence to conduct the offices and duties with which they were entrusted. The nice and quiet time which they enjoyed put them to sleep...

...and so weed was grown among the wheat while the people were asleep. In time egotism, selfishness and disloyalty grew particularly among the masters of the crafts. Because of this the revenues of the community were reduced and difficulties arose to purchase the necessities of the Gemeinschaft. With a quick pace the community headed toward poverty.⁵

A contemporary observer reported:

The masters which headed the various economic branches of the community demanded independence. Each of them withdrew from the common treasury and opened businesses of their own. They bought raw material and sold the goods independently. Instead of handing over the revenues to the community, they just presented the invoices.

Using the occasion they began to eat, to drink and to dress better than the rest. With the increase in the material wealth of the group the tendency toward idleness increased. The trend to enjoy the good life on account of the common affluence took deep roots and paralyzed the activities of all members. It brought apathy, hostility, envy and dissatisfaction into the Gemeinschaft and step by step caused the disintegration of the group.⁶

Summary

At the beginning of the last chapter it was hypothesized that the same social dynamics which governed the first phase of the Hutterite socio-cultural development should also govern the develop-

ment of phase two and three.

In evaluating this statement it must be noted that historical accidents can play important roles in socio-cultural developments. The fact that the Carinthian Lutheran group was expelled from its home country and resettled in an area where members of their group came in contact with Hutterites was clearly an accident.

It was, however, no accident at all that the selective processes in the Carinthian group led to the formation of an energetic small group which was in desperate need of an ideology. The results of these selective processes among the Carinthians were similar to those that took place during the formative years of the Hutterite group 1527 to 1535.

In both cases the selective processes led to the formation of an energetic group of people, highly united and poised for action.

The difference between these two processes is that in 1527 to 1535 the group produced its own ideology, while in 1759 it adopted an existing ideology.

Some factors might tentatively be pointed out that could account for these differences. There is first the smallness of the Lutheran movement of 1752 in contrast to the widespread movement of the Anabaptists in 1527. Secondly the economic problems which furthered the development of Anabaptism in 1527 were much less apparent in 1752. Thirdly no charismatic spiritual leaders emerged in 1752, perhaps due to the fact that no highly educated people were attracted by the group. The early Anabaptist development, in contrast, was initiated by

highly educated persons like Conrad Grebel, Felix Mantz, Joerg Blaurock, Thomas Muentzer and Karlstadt. It was these people who supplied the basic ideas which later were put together into a consistent ideological system by the selection processes mentioned. Lastly the Carinthians were mainly opposed against Catholicism, Lutherism, etc. without being able to define what they were really standing for.

If the Carinthian group failed to develop its own ideology it nevertheless was able to fill an old ideology with new life and a new vitality.

These developments, however, allow us to make an important distinction. The group forming processes can, under certain conditions, lead to a cohesive energetic group forming its own ideology, or they might, under different conditions, lead to a cohesive energetic group ready to adopt a suitable ideology.

Differences in the size of the movement, the presence or absence of charismatic leaders, the kind and degree of economic problems associated with the movement might influence the development in one or the other direction. The general positive or negative orientation toward problem situations might play a part also.

It is of further interest that the Carinthian group presented an infusion of new social energy into the decaying Hutterite system. From a closed system the Hutterite membership suddenly opened itself to such an infusion which during the following years provided all the dynamics in the system. While the old Hutterites were acculturated,

the new energetic group carried the development a step further. In this attempt they were aided by some hard core Hutterites who joined them. The initiative, however, was held by the new members. This fact indicates that the openness of a system in terms of members can be a source of new dynamics for an established system. The correlation between certain types of religious ideological creativities and new converts to the system were indicated several times in the analyses of the first phase of Hutterite development. This might lead to the conclusion that there exists a definite relation between the kind and degree of openness of a particular socio-cultural system (in terms of members) and the dynamic states that are found to govern the system.

The third phase of the Hutterite socio-cultural development was predicted to have been governed by the same processes expressed in our three hypotheses.

Again certain qualifying statements are necessary. In the first instance the Carinthian group differed in its personality structure from the group of Hutterites in 1535. We have tried to depict these differences in our definitions for the "call" and "revival" experiences. However, the essential content of the hypotheses again must be regarded as confirmed. The sudden collapse of the community of goods in 1817 came exactly after the first generation had died and the leadership of the group changed to the generation that was socialized in the system.

These effects of the change from the "call" to socialization

which showed up during the first phase of the Hutterite development also hold true for the third phase when a change from "revival" experience to socialization occurred.

A further similarity between the two phases of development is supplied by the fact that these changes took place during "good" periods. Hutterites between 1554 and 1593 were not subject to persecution in Moravia. During the third phase between 1801 and 1817 persecution was absent also.

Further similarities existed in the division of labor. The degree of the division of labor was the same. Although Hutterites in 1570 had more occupations in their Gemeinschaften than in 1800, this difference is largely due to the smaller number of Hutterites living in 1800.

Cultural factors, market conditions and available sources of raw materials also might have contributed to the smaller number of crafts. The fact, however, is that the division of labor was as extensive as it could be under the limiting conditions of a small population. In this sense there is no difference between the respective economic structure of the first and third period.

There were similarities in the social phases of one and three but there were also dissimilarities. No effective bureaucratic structure emerged between 1770 and 1817. There was a beginning of such a bureaucracy during the 1780's up to 1800. Several new Gemeindeordnungen were issued during this time demonstrating that

this bureaucracy tried to regulate internal matters. The struggle for freedom from serfdom was also conducted by this bureaucratic organization.

This bureaucracy might have succeeded even when the leadership changed from the first generation to the second had it not neglected to develop a way by which it could siphon off the surpluses produced by the Gemeinschaft.

During the first phase around 1570, this bureaucracy began to collect the surpluses for its emergency funds. With such funds the bureaucracy not only secured the sect's future survival as well as its own central importance in leading the sect, but it also protected the various settlements from the dangers of inequality inherent to a wealthy group.

The first phase of the Hutterite development demonstrates that this wealth was legitimately appropriated by the central bureaucracy and used for survival purposes. The group as a whole collapsed when internal forces denied this power of appropriation to the bureaucracy.

The third phase demonstrates that no effective attempts were made by a rudimentary bureaucracy to appropriate wealth for legitimate purposes. This might be due to the fact that no legitimate purposes for the appropriation of wealth could be found. The group was not threatened anymore and had little need to plan for future emergencies. The only other group use that could legitimately be found was that of providing for the expansion of the group. However, expansion was

very slow, despite a high birth rate reflected in a young population. (43.8% of the population was under the age of 15 years.) The group had only grown by 58 persons in 16 years; or 3.6 persons per year. On the basis of a starting population of around 184 in 1801, the group increased by approximately 1.95% per year. This indicates that the death rate must have been fairly high during this time. In 16 years 48 persons had died, averaging 3 persons per year or 1.63% per year. The group showed the typical characteristics of a high birth rate and high death rate, making for a relatively low natural increase.

The Russian official Fadjeew, whose report was quoted earlier, calculated that the Hutterite population increased at that time at such a rate as to double its population every 60 years. This stood in contrast to the population increase of the Mennonites in the area which doubled their population every 30 years.

The surplus produced in the community, therefore, was not appropriated by the bureaucracy for expansion. As a result the surplus became subject to the competitive appropriation of the various producing and consuming subsystems. Under such competition for the surplus of the group, the principle of equality could not be maintained.

The rudimentary bureaucracy which had emerged and had successfully handled some internal and external matters did not strengthen its position by appropriating the surplus of the group. It therefore was in a weakened position in relation to the various master craftsmen who had appropriated parts of the surplus for themselves.

Not only did this development inhibit the further growth of the bureaucracy but the tendencies toward centralization and bureaucratic unity were cut off by this competitive struggle for the surplus.

As a result a fully bureaucratic system did not arise because the leadership failed to take full charge of the economic affairs through the handling of surpluses.

This failure in turn favored the decentralizing tendencies associated with the crafts.

A fuller statement of this development would be the following:

Under conditions where a rudimentary bureaucracy changed its leadership rapidly from the first "revival" generation to the second socialized generation; under conditions where the rudimentary bureaucracy failed to appropriate the accumulated surplus of the group for legitimate group purposes; under conditions of a fairly extensive division of labor; under conditions where the second socialized generation became oriented toward their various roles and positions; the central principle of equality was unable to maintain itself on purely religious-ideological grounds. As a result, the decentralizing dynamics of the various crafts became dominant and the structural adjustment of abolishing the community of goods became unavoidable.

We have found that during the first phase the lack of an effective system of punishment, rewards and motivation on the part

of the central bureaucracy led to the disintegration of the community of goods.

During the third phase it was the failure of the system to create an effective bureaucracy, after the first generation of "wertrational" or revival oriented members had disappeared, that initiated a trend toward the disintegration of the community of goods.

Footnotes - Chapter V

¹Zieglschmid, op.cit., Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brueder, pp. 324, 325.

²Klaus, op.cit., Unsere Kolonien, p. 65.

³Ibid., p. 70.

⁴Ibid., p. 71.

⁵Zieglschmid, op.cit., Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brueder, pp. 422, 423.

⁶Klaus, op.cit., Unsere Kolonien, p. 67.

CHAPTER VI

Hutterite socio-cultural development during phase four and five

The social dynamics underlying the various phases of Hutterite development have demonstrated the existence of two dynamic processes:

1.) The group forming dynamics.

2.) The group elaborating and disintegrating dynamics.

It would be extremely interesting to see whether these dynamics played a role in the latest two phases of this sect.

Phase four of Hutterite development

Phase four of the Hutterite socio-cultural development can be divided into two distinct periods. The first of these periods lasted from 1817 to 1842 and the second from 1843 to 1874.

The disintegration of the community of goods in 1817 made the distribution of the community property among the families necessary. The 775 Desjatines of land (1 Desjatine equals 2.7 acres) were equally divided among 49 families. Each family, therefore, received about 15 Desjatines or a little more than 40 acres. The forest, two distilleries, the sericulture and the community buildings remained common property. Unfortunately these 775 Desjatines of land which were divided among 49 families were located in 38 different places. Some of these locations were 15 Werst apart (1 Werst = 1.067 kilometers or a little over 0.6 miles.)

In order to secure an equal share for all families,

most of these scattered pieces of land were divided in such a way that each family received one little piece of almost everything. The result was that the property of most Hutterite families was widely scattered making an efficient operation impossible.

The population increased from 242 persons belonging to 49 families in 1817 to 384 persons belonging to 69 families in 1841. Within 24 years the population increased by 58.67% while the increase in number of families (which were economic units of course) increased by 40.8%

The scattered locations of the land plus the population increase which had to be accommodated within the limits of the available resources, led to a rapid economic decline of the community. Many of the crafts which flourished on the former communal basis could not be maintained because the single families lacked the capital, tools and the manpower to maintain them.

The masters who had demanded economic freedom for their crafts soon found out that a difference existed between managing a craft that utilized community resources in terms of capital and manpower and crafts that had to rely entirely on family resources. This was particularly true for such transactions as the buying of raw material and the marketing of goods.

The economic decline was followed by a decline in education, ethics, morals and customs. The community school proved to be unable to teach elementary reading and writing. Illiteracy which was formerly unknown among the group was reintroduced. Continuous

quarrels with Russian neighbors over access to land created a general hostile atmosphere. The poverty within the group led to an erosion of the moral standards. Religiously the disintegration of the community of goods caused a deeply rooted feeling of anomie among the community members. The abolition of the community of goods in 1817 was performed under economic pressures. As it turned out, however, the abolition proved not to be an economic solution at all. On the contrary the economic difficulties increased under a system of private property. Therefore, the economic hopes that were associated with the abolition of the community of goods soon turned into disappointments.

If the disintegration of the community of goods was not satisfactory from the economic point of view, it was even more disturbing from the religious-ideological point of view. Under conditions of community conflict and hostility the religious concerns in 1817 were pushed into the background. However, when the community became unable to fulfill its traditionalized religious and educational functions because of widespread poverty, religious concerns came to the foreground again.

With the disappearance of the community of goods the attainment of paradise for the individual was lost. While this was endurable to a group of independent-minded master craftsmen pursuing their own interests, it became unendurable to a poverty stricken group of peasants struggling to stay alive.

Therefore, the disintegration of the community of goods and

the resulting economic and religious effects threw the Hutterite community into a state of social and physiological conflict. The economic advantages many had hoped for had not materialized - on the contrary the situation had worsened considerably. In addition religious satisfaction which was provided by the community of goods despite its economic faults had disappeared also.

From every point of view, therefore, the situation had worsened. However, the abolition of the community of goods had produced one characteristic which proved to be a blessing. The differentiation of the system in terms of roles, privileges, status, positions and social and economic attitudes were abolished with the community of goods.

The absence of rivalry and competition over roles, resources, etc. put the various individuals in a position where they were better able to evaluate their group existence. Discarding the community of goods had the effect of eliminating the personal subjective perspective of the individual which was structured around his role, status, etc. and channeling his outlook to the problems facing the group as a whole. In this sense the abolition of the community of goods had the effect of a role, status and attitude revolution whereby the focus shifted from the individual perspective to the group perspective.

In 1834 the Hutterite group attempted to solve at least the economic problem under which it suffered. A meeting of the whole community was called and every member who agreed to a change of

location for the community was called to put his intentions down in writing. Shortly after this meeting the Russian authorities were petitioned for a change in location.

The contemporary observers remarked about this petition:¹

It is worthwhile noting that the petition of the community according to form and content has an entirely different character than was shown during the crisis of 1818. At that time the whole matter took the form of an internal conflict in the community and referred almost exclusively to social-religious questions of convictions. At this time, however, (in 1834) there are no traces of differences of opinion despite the fact that the settlers had reached a low plateau in their economic and ethical standards, never observed during the period of the community of goods.

When in 1818 the accusations of group members against each other surprised the observer as narrow minded and petty, there were no such accusations to be found in 1834. The petition at that time had such a factual foundation, that it was not necessary to conduct a local investigation in order to recognize the validity of the arguments.

The Russian authorities were slow in reacting to this petition. With the help of Johann Cornies, a prominent Mennonite who extended his help to the group, resettlement was finally arranged in 1842.

Each family received 65 Desjatines (175.5 acres). An interest free loan of 15,000 Rubles provided the necessary capital for the settlers. The settlement quickly flourished and three years later was already able to repay the loan it had received.

Thus the first period ended by finding a solution to the economic problems with which the group were faced. It marked a

change from a state of common poverty to the attainment of existential conditions that allowed progress and prosperity.

The second period from 1842 to 1874 was a period of preparation for the re-establishment of the community of goods. In this sense it was again characterized by a series of selective processes. This is the third time that we encounter factors of selectivity in group forming processes.

For almost thirty years, following the year 1842, various subgroups made one attempt after another to re-establish the community of goods. Some of these attempts failed, resulting in significant economic losses. Those who finally succeeded in their attempts represent that group of dedicated and enthusiastic individuals who were most effective in reintroducing a new form of integration between the religious-ideology and institutional behavior. Through an analysis of the data we attempt to isolate the selective factors that were at work during this period of the Hutterite development.

Hutterites settled in the United States between 1874 and 1879 in four distinct groups. Three of these groups form the ancestral groups of today's Hutterites living under the community of goods. These groups are called: "Schmiedenleut", "Dariusleute" and "Lehrerleut". The fourth group is called "Praerieleut". This group settled under private property relations in the U.S. Most of its members joined various Mennonite Churches. Culturally the "Praerieleut" were absorbed by the general American culture.

As shown on the diagram on the next page, the re-establishment of the community of goods followed a complicated series of selective processes.² In successive communal trials resulting in either successes or failures, the Hutterite population sorted itself out according to the two possible forms which the system could take: the community of goods or the community of love.

The individuals who, after a series of trials, finally succeeded in the re-establishment of the community of goods, possessed those psychological and social characteristics which were meaningfully and functionally required by the community of goods. The rest remained in private property. Only those people were left to carry on with the community of goods who possessed the required dedication, enthusiasm and conviction to endure the restraints which the community of goods imposed on them. At the same time such dedication and enthusiasm made for consensus among the group members which in turn gave strength and freedom of action to the group as a whole.

The re-establishment of the community of goods essentially followed the same selective dynamics in terms of membership already observed during the period 1527 to 1535 and 1762 to 1761.

Phase five of the Hutterite development

The dynamic conditions governing phase five of the Hutterite socio-cultural system (1879 to the present) are supposingly the same as those having governed phase one and phase three.

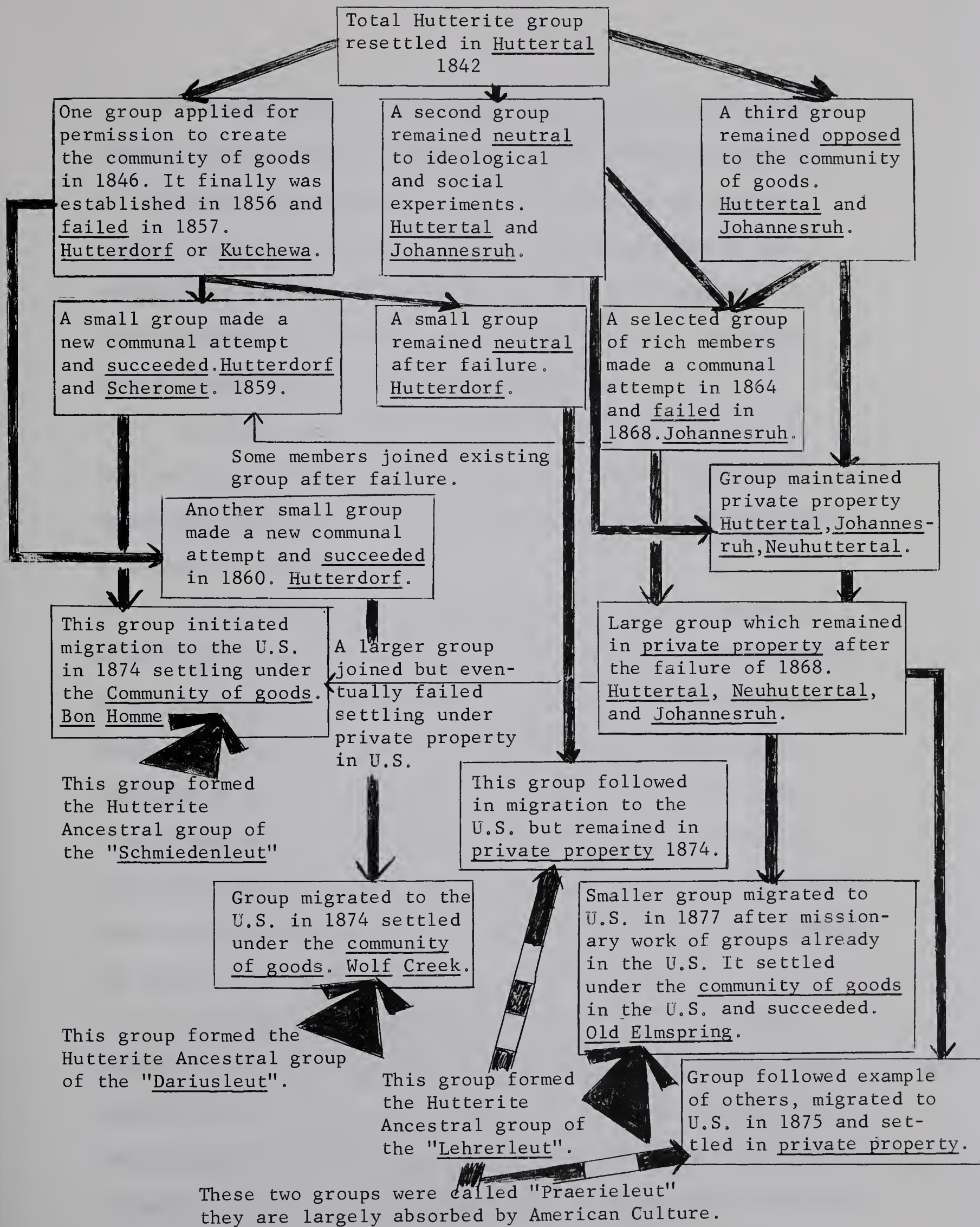


Figure 5.-- PATTERNS OF FRAGMENTATIONS BETWEEN 1857 AND 1879.

The same forces of differentiation, progressive mechanization, centralization and decentralization should be effective in the system producing similar results as during the previous phases. A change from the first generation of members to the second generation should have had an effect on the kind and type of cohesion to be found in the system. In all the system should be heading for a new disintegration.

A cursory knowledge of Hutterite development during the last 90 years, however, reveals that none of these predictions which should be made on the basis of previous events actually are observable at the present time.

On the contrary, the three Hutterite communal groups which settled in North America underwent a period of unprecedented growth and expansion. These three communal settlements produced during these 90 years about 170 new settlements. This growth consists of the multiplication of identical social units relatively independent of each other. These units are economically integrated with the host society in which they have their existence. They are religiously and socially integrated with each other through the office of a bishop and the "preachers convention".

Although some of the settlements are in a progressive state of disintegration, this in no way is true for the major part of the Hutterite sect. Most groups do not show any serious signs of disintegration or are in danger of discontinuing the community of goods. Vigorous, organized expansion of the group demonstrates

clearly that some dynamic forces must be at work that inhibit a development of differentiation, etc. so characteristic for the first and third phase.

The question is: What are these forces and how do they effectively prevent a recurrence of the disintegrating processes already observed twice?

The following systematic analysis of data attempts to answer this question.

First it must be noted that the Hutterite religious ideology has become completely traditionalized. No new sermons or religious interpretations are written. Where a few attempts have been made by some preachers to write new sermons, they were regarded as illegitimate means to enhance the status of the person doing the writing. The religious service also is completely ritualized. The ritual still reflects the austerity of the early Hutterite church services but it is completely rigid in terms of its performance as well as content.

Hutterites are not subject to any serious form of persecution. During the last 90 years the sect left the United States as the result of disturbances associated with World War I. These disturbances did not aim at the base of Hutterite existence no matter how unpleasant they might have been from other points of view. Various forms of legislation in Canada and the United States restricting the land holdings of Hutterites may be regarded as violations of the civil rights of a minority. However, these

restrictions are in no way strong enough to represent a serious threat to the existence of the sect. This statement is not intended to condone these measures or to justify them. It is simply a functional statement saying that despite these restrictions the existence and the expansion of the sect in North America is possible.

Turning to the division of labor effective in the Hutterite sect at the present phase, one significant change must be noted.

The division of labor after 1879 became organized in a monolithic way around one occupation - that of agriculture. The various crafts which Hutterites maintained during their early phases became obsolete with the industrial revolution. Therefore, the division of labor today is confined to those occupations which have some kind of importance for agriculture. Such a monolithic division of labor is much more subject to any central control than the division of labor characteristic of previous phases. Buying and selling of goods and material can be centralized because the variety of goods and materials is small and established channels of marketing are available. The common system of non-cash payments (cheques) and the use of bank accounts further favors a central financial control. Modern bookkeeping procedures which are used by Hutterites likewise make a centralized financial control necessary.

Moreover the various agricultural operations which Hutterites perform depend largely on each other. The hog and cattle productions

depend mainly on the grain production from which they receive their feed. This interdependence results in an organic interrelationship of various productive branches in contrast to the occupational independence characteristic of the division of labor of the early phases. Hutterite production heads, comparable to the masters of earlier times, today handle only a petty cash box. Any sizeable purchase or sale is handled by the central financial control.

As a result the two factors, 1.) interdependence of a monolithic division of labor, and 2.) a necessary financial control due to bank accounts, signing privileges and modern book-keeping methods, ensure a dominance of the central authority in the communities.

The overall authority of the sect in the form of the bishop's office differs from the bureaucracy of the first phase in the following way:

The economic responsibility for each settlement rests with the central authority of this settlement not with the central authority of the whole sect. The Hutterite bishops governing the three endogamous groups do have the potential power to interfere in the internal economic affairs of each settlement but this power is hardly used. Up until recent times each settlement which intended to branch out and establish a new operation had to ask for permission and approval. This practice is slowly disappearing.

No financial control over the affairs of the individual

settlements is exercised by the bishop. Therefore, no emergency funds are built up. The closest form of overall financial manipulation is the occasional tax imposed by the preachers convention on each settlement. However, such a tax is imposed only if some expenses were incurred from which the whole sect received some benefit. If, for example, legal aid had to be employed to make representations to governments, etc. the reimbursement of these legal experts would be conducted through such a tax on all settlements.

It follows that the overall authority within the various groups is relatively weak. Decisions which are made regarding the groups as a whole are made during the annual or bi-annual preachers conventions. The implementation of these decisions are left to the settlements.

The election of the bishop has led to the establishment of a gerontocracy. The oldest preacher, regardless of merit, is always elected as the bishop. The usual tendency of these bishops is to preserve the status quo. Change is a threatening affair for these old men who have neither the bureaucratic apparatus nor the courage to use the potential powers which they possess.

As a result, the more democratic preachers convention makes most decisions. However, their power to make and enforce decisions is limited. The most effective way to enforce decisions is to reach complete consensus among preachers regarding the

issue under discussion. Under such a method only a limited number of decisions can in effect be made. Where there is division over the issue, no decision can be made about the issue.

This process stands in contrast to the bureaucratic authority of the first phase where decisions were made regarding individual settlements and where these settlements readily responded to these decisions.

In other words, the Hutterite central authority today is relatively weak and the authority of individual settlements is relatively strong. Such a distribution of powers, of course, placed great responsibility on the authorities in the individual settlements.

A similar situation in 1817 proved to be disintegrative because it led to the competition of various subsystems in the settlements over the wealth that was produced in the group. Although the division of labor today does not favor the emergence of such a competition, other structures like family groups could do this. Some of these tendencies are observable in certain settlements.

The most important factor, however, which inhibits the appropriation of wealth by any economic or social subsystem is the enormous population increase which Hutterites experienced after they migrated to the North American Continent. Today's wealth is not only completely absorbed by the expansion of the population;

but this expansion affects each individual settlement equally. Although no centralized bureaucracy exists which appropriates wealth for legitimate group purposes, the population expansion puts all settlements under such immense strains such that asceticism, thriftiness and austerity must be strictly enforced to meet the ever growing demands of the younger generation.

The population growth of the Hutterite group was studied by Joseph Eaton and Albert Mayer as part of a larger study, "Cultural and Psychiatric Factors in the Mental Health of the Hutterites." The demographic aspects of this study were reported in the book, Man's Capacity to Reproduce, the Demography of a Unique Population.³

Eaton and Mayer gathered their data from two sources. They first consulted the United States census data of 1880 and checked the reliability of these data with numerous private documents and colony histories. They found that the data gathered by the census enumerators in 1880 were extremely accurate.

The second source of information was gathered throughout the year of 1950 when the vital statistics of Hutterites were needed for the Mental Health study. Although a complete enumeration of all Hutterites living on the North American Continent was not possible, the enumerators were able to sample about 80 percent of the Hutterite population. This sample was not random because it depended largely on the willingness of the local Hutterite leaders to co-operate. Comparisons of the 80 percent data with other records based on a 100 percent enumeration, however, showed that the 80 percent sample was

representative of the whole population.

The distribution of the Hutterite population by age and sex for June, 1880 and December 31, 1950 are shown in the following tables.⁴

Table 3

DISTRIBUTION OF THE HUTTERITE POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX JUNE 1880

Age	Male	Female	Total
Under 15	109	103	212
15 - 19	23	21	44
20 - 24	15	24	39
25 - 29	15	15	30
30 - 34	13	15	28
35 - 39	6	16	22
40 - 44	10	7	17
45 - 49	11	4	15
50 - 54	2	3	5
55 - 59	3	7	10
60 - 64	6	3	9
65 - 69	5	4	9
70 - 74	1	0	1
75 - 79	1	0	1
80 - 84	1	0	1
Total	221	222	443

Table 4

DISTRIBUTION OF THE HUTTERITE POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX ON DECEMBER
31, 1950

Age	Male	Female	Total
Under 15	2,190	2,134	4,324
15 - 19	434	474	908
20 - 24	330	337	667
25 - 29	298	304	602
30 - 34	231	231	462
35 - 39	189	213	402
40 - 44	165	120	285
45 - 49	125	111	236
50 - 54	91	91	182
55 - 59	74	69	143
60 - 64	46	40	86
65 - 69	39	25	64
70 - 74	22	29	51
75 - 79	5	6	11
80 - 84	5	3	8
85 - 89	3	1	4
90 and over	0	2	2
Unknown	34	72	106
	4,281	4,261	8,542

A comparison of the age distribution for the two populations
produced the following results:

Table 5

COMPARISON OF 1880 AND 1950 AGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF ETHNIC HUTTERITES
IN PER CENT TO THE TOTAL POPULATION

Age Distribution	Percent 1880	Percent 1950	Incrëase or decrease Percent 1880-1950
Under 15 years of age	47.85	51.25	- 3.40
15 - 19	9.73	10.76	- 1.03
20 - 24	8.80	7.90	+ .90
25 - 29	6.77	7.13	- .36
30 - 34	6.32	5.47	+ .85
35 - 39	4.96	4.76	+ .20
40 - 44	3.83	3.37	+ .46
45 - 49	3.38	2.79	+ .59
50 - 54	1.12	2.15	- 1.03
55 - 59	2.25	1.69	+ .56
60 - 64	2.03	1.01	+ 1.02
65 and over	2.70	1.65	+ 1.05

With the exception of children under 15 years of age, the age distribution of Hutterites in 1880 and 1950 differed by one percent and less. A difference having a minus sign in front designates an increase of the 1950 population over the 1880 population. A plus sign designates a decrease. The sum of all increases is 5.82 and the sum of all decreases is 5.63. The difference between all decreases and increases is .19.

The increase in the "under 15 years of age" group for 1950 in all probability is due to the fact that a dysentery epidemic killed 36 Hutterite children in 1874, therefore depressing the percentage of children under 15 years of age for the census of 1880.

Eaton and Mayer supply another set of figures which can be used to compare the age distribution of women for the periods 1926-30, 1936-40 and 1946-50.⁵ The following table gives the age specific distribution of women in percent to the total population.

Table 6

AGE SPECIFIC DISTRIBUTION FOR HUTTERITE WOMEN IN 1926-30, 1936-40,
AND 1946-50 IN PERCENT TO THE TOTAL POPULATION

Age Group	Percent 1926-30	Percent 1936-40	Percent 1946-50
15 - 19	23.79	24.87	23.98
20 - 24	20.23	22.11	20.07
25 - 29	18.25	16.20	17.52
30 - 34	13.69	12.31	14.34
35 - 39	7.93	10.67	10.35
40 - 44	7.14	8.54	7.64
45 - 49	6.74	5.27	6.05

Eaton and Mayer come to the following conclusion:

The Hutterite population growth during the last 70 years resembles the statistical model of a stable population. Such a population must be distinguished from a stationary population. The latter is neither growing nor decreasing. It remains, as the term indicates, stationary in size. A stable population may be growing or decreasing, but it has a constant net reproduction rate. The true birth and death rates are stable. The total number of persons can change, but the percentage distribution by age and sex does not. The statistical model of a stable population has never, to our knowledge, been found in nature. The Hutterites comes very close to showing its characteristics...

This finding is more than a statistical curiosity. It indicates that it is meaningful to compare the rates

of phenomena within the sect at different times, because the composition of the population base remains the same. Within the Hutterite population even crude rates can be a basis for comparison over time.⁶

Eaton and Mayer comment on the population increase of Hutterites in the following way:

There are two ways in which a population may remain predominantly youthful. In the "primitive way" individuals die prematurely; in the "Hutterite way" there is constant expansion through a very high birth rate (4.12 percent per year). Although in the latter case adults live a long time, they are perpetually outnumbered by successive and increasing waves of children, most of whom survive. Over 61 percent of the Hutterite population in 1950 had not reached full adulthood... Hutterites are a "primitive" population in having a high fertility pattern but are quite modern in their mortality rates.⁷

It is no surprise that Eaton and Mayer were unable to fit the "Pearl-Reed logistic Curve" to the Hutterite patterns of growth. This curve which is characterized by a slow rate of growth at the beginning, a fast rate of growth in the middle and a slow rate of growth at the end, simply does not fit the Hutterite pattern of growth because there is no point of inflection on the upper end. Hutterites at the moment are still in the fast rate of growth. Eaton and Mayer had this to say:

Ultimately, it may well follow such a pattern, but our data contain no biological clue that would permit us to predict how long the fertility of this population will continue to remain high, when it will begin to decline, how fast it will decline and whether the decline will be continuous.⁸

The social dynamics of such rapid population growth might be assessed with the help of two studies demonstrating the elaboration

of the social structure in a typical Hutterite settlement. The first case study is concerned with a settlement which has just been founded, the second with a colony that is about seventeen to twenty years old.

A new settlement which has just been set up has around sixty to seventy people. Usually care is taken to insure that the population of the parent and daughter colonies are comparable in their age distribution (demanded by the amount and type of work). About two-thirds of these sixty people consist of children under the age of twenty years. There are hardly more than twenty adult people who are usually equally or nearly equally distributed according to sex. Consequently there are only ten or less males over the age of twenty left who carry the main load of work. However, the internal organization for each colony demands the appointment of the following positions:

The executive council consisting of six members. These are: two preachers, a boss, a field boss, school teacher and a council member at large.

Except for the council member at large, the other five positions are only partially productive. A considerable amount of time is spent by these people to organize and to supervise or to fill particular positions like teaching German school, which lies outside the economic process entirely.

The all-round agricultural activities of Hutterites demand the appointment of the following occupational positions:

(1) cattle boss; (2) sheep boss; (3) chicken boss; (4) head mechanic; (5) hog boss; (6) carpenter; (7) shoemaker; (8) bee keeper; (9) duck and geese boss. These jobs are held by persons who are at least twenty years and over.

Of the ten males over twenty years of age, six will have the positions within the executive council. Consequently there are only four adult males left to fill the above-mentioned nine positions. While some of these nine positions provide only enough work for one man, some of these need the working capacity of two or more persons. Depending on the size of the cattle herd, two men may be necessary. The mechanic almost never is able to do all the work alone. He needs some people who are acquainted with a number of things, like electrical work, welding, etc. During the seeding and harvesting times of the year great demands are made on this working force. Hutterite settlements have found that at least four and at most five combines are necessary to bring the crop in on time. These combines are operated, when the weather permits, on a 24-hour basis. In order to run four combines a number of truck drivers must haul the grain. Others need to operate additional machinery like swathing. The mechanic almost invariably is busy doing some minor repairs.

These examples drawn from the Hutterite organization of work point out that with only ten males over the age of twenty years, work and job positions are plentiful while workers are scarce. To alleviate the situation a number of positions must be held by one and the same person, burdening this person with additional work. A young

settlement then is characterized by much work and a great many job and status positions for which there is little or no competition.

As a colony reaches its "old stage" this trend reverses. Twenty years after a colony was established, the population will have reached about one hundred thirty persons. There are about twenty males in such an "old" colony between the ages of twenty and seventy years. Sixteen of these will be over the age of thirty. These sixteen people in all probability occupy all the important role and status positions as outlined earlier. Some of them might aspire to positions which are already filled. Another five persons are between the ages of twenty-five and thirty years. They expect to receive positions soon. However, since all appointments can be life appointments unless the person proves to be incapable or dishonest, the opportunities for these younger people are extremely limited. Within the next ten years eleven persons would reach the ages between thirty and forty without any hope of obtaining important positions in the colony hierarchy. The scarcity of jobs result in fierce competition which usually takes place along family lines. The fathers who hold positions try to get their sons into an office whenever possible. This competition leads to much social unrest and conflict. Communal life becomes troublesome and unpleasant. Work rules are hard to enforce because the fine division of labor has led to a diffusion of responsibility. The original relationship between work and the available labor has been reversed. A relatively small amount of labor is being done by a great number of people. The

formation of cliques follows in the path of competition. Shortly before this general unrest reaches a point where it becomes destructive of the group, the settlement branches out. By duplicating the material facilities, Hutterites split their population and form "two" young colonies out of one "old" one. The cycle begins anew.

A remark needs to be made on the question of motivation. The Hutterite system, at least for the males, has an elaborate system designed to motivate its males to participate in the group. Those who are in positions have their status demonstrated on all social occasions. The executive council enjoys special seating privileges in church and in the common dining hall. Access to authority, money and transportation are other privileges open to them. The main criteria for obtaining a position of some sort is age. As a person gets older, it is expected that he will obtain a position which carries responsibility and privileges. Consequently males twenty-five years and older traditionally look forward to a position which will give them some status in the settlement. When this status must be denied, due to the fact that no jobs are available, the individual becomes frustrated and quarrelsome.

Summary

Hutterite settlements oscillate between a "young" and an "old" stage. A young colony is marked by a great amount of work and a great number of jobs and status positions for which there is little competition. Fifteen to twenty years later the situation has reversed. A great

number of young males have become of age. Young families are in their most fertile period between twenty and thirty years of age. The settlement grows very rapidly in numbers (although the rate of natural increase remains the same). A relatively stable amount of work is being done by a great number of people. The division of labor has become more elaborate and the division of responsibility has become more specific. Individuals are responsible for diversified sections of work rather than the whole job. Job and status positions are scarce and there is much competition. No immediate advancement is in sight for a great number of people who feel to be eligible due to their age. Competition over jobs and frustration of job aspirations hinder the establishment of consensus greatly and create difficulties for the central authority in the settlement.

The operations in the system become troublesome and unwieldy. The process of forming a new settlement alleviates this situation and re-creates conditions under which the smooth integration of the group is easier to obtain. The jobs and positions are doubled through the forming of a new settlement. This allows for job and status satisfaction for the growing generation. Competition and job frustrations disappear and consensus can be obtained more easily. Moreover the location of a new settlement is always a challenge and a problem. New techniques and new knowledge in regard to soil, etc. must be acquired. New people have to fill new positions and new relations must be established between those members that suddenly find themselves as the inhabitants of a new settlement. It is this creativity of new

positions and new social relations associated with the challenge of a new environment that provides the inner dynamics of the Hutterite system.

The high rate of natural increase of the Hutterite group solves the manpower problems created in a new settlement by supplying the necessary manpower to operate a growing colony. However, the high rate of natural increase creates a number of social problems when the role and status expectations of the rapidly growing population cannot be maintained. To head off the inevitable disruptive forces of competition and factionalization, Hutterites branch out and establish a social setting which offers a new and satisfying role and status distribution. The group which is "rejuvenated" in this sense is furnished with a new rejuvenated social structure. In this way the system keeps its motivational level strong enough to assure a meaningful and satisfying participation of the individual. The system creates its own challenge through the high rate of natural increase and has organized itself dynamically around this challenge.

The fertility cycle of the Hutterite group then coincides with a motivational cycle, a structural cycle and a financial cycle. In cases where all these cycles are co-ordinated, the system functions smoothly. A word or two needs to be said on the financial cycle. On the basis of a net rate of natural increase of 4.12 percent per year, the Hutterite population doubles every 17.3 years. The branching out patterns of settlements and the reproductive patterns coincide to a

remarkable degree. This means, in effect, that during an average period of 17.3 years, each existing settlement must double its total assets. With 6,400 acres of land, an extensive machine pool, buildings and working facilities, each settlement presents a value totalling nearly one million dollars. To double these assets in 17 years requires a net profit of about \$59,000 per year. This profit is made only very seldom. The average profit for a colony comes closer to \$20,000 to \$30,000 per year.

As a result, all profits are completely absorbed by providing for the expansion of the settlements. Ascetic standards and restrictions of consumption must be enforced in order to assure an orderly expansion of the group. Since such an expansion provides roles and statuses for the growing population and since it assures peace and social harmony in the group, it is an immediate and pressing problem to each settlement.

The cohesion and integration of the Hutterite settlements, therefore, is at the present time precariously balanced around the dynamic forces of a rapid population increase. The social necessities of austerity, asceticism and equality can be maintained as long as all wealth is legitimately absorbed by providing for the expanding population.

The conclusion, therefore, is that for the moment the dynamics of further differentiation, progressive mechanization and decentralization are arrested at a point where the central authority in the settlements is able to check the decentralization tendencies of

subsystems. The basic means to do this are a monolithic division of labor, an institutionalized and centralized financial control and the absorption of surplus through a rapid expansion of the population.

That this situation is only a temporary one is quite evident. If the saving powers of the settlements are less than demanded by the population expansion, Hutterites will experience the problems of the so-called "underdeveloped countries" where the population expansion overtakes the growth of the production facilities. In the face of ever increasing costs to create new settlements, Hutterites already had to resort to credit financing. Since credits need to be repaid by newly created settlements, their respective saving periods will be shortened by the time needed to repay such loans. This leads to an accumulative shortening of the saving periods, while the population increase remains constant. The result will be that in the near future Hutterite population expansion will outrun the saving powers. In this situation either a decrease in the population increase or an increase in the saving powers is necessary. Since the latter is very unlikely, after all the system is quite efficient already, a decrease in the rate of natural increase should occur in order to maintain the dynamics of the system. This would result in a slowdown of Hutterite expansion. In case such slowdown cannot be attained through a decrease in the rate of natural increase, the socio-cultural system will be faced with serious social problems. Without being prophetic it can be

predicted that such problems will be marked by competition over the economic holdings and the material wealth accumulated in the settlements. Processes of decentralization will follow in the wake of such competition and the system might very well head toward another disintegrating phase.

Footnotes - Chapter VI

¹Klaus, op.cit., Unsere Kolonien, p. 77.

²Zieglschmid, op.cit., Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brueder, pp. 442-456.

³J. W. Eaton and Albert J. Mayer, Man's Capacity to Reproduce, The Demography of a Unique Population, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1954.

⁴Ibid., pp. 6, 9.

⁵Ibid., p. 22.

⁶Ibid., pp. 44-45.

⁷Ibid., pp. 52, 53.

⁸Ibid., p. 47.

CHAPTER VII

Evaluation of the problem in the light of data and theory

In previous chapters the data regarding the phasing of the Hutterite socio-cultural system were presented and side issues relevant to one or the other phase were explored.

The present chapter attempts to evaluate the overall phasing of the Hutterite socio-cultural system in the light of data and theory and intends to draw conclusions from such an evaluation.

An inspection of the data reveals that the socio-cultural development of the Hutterite sect can be classified in two distinct processes:

- 1.) Phase two and four belong to the class of group forming processes. The initial group forming process preceding the conception of the Hutterite group (1527 to 1535) must logically be added to this class.
- 2.) Phase one, three and five belong to the class of group elaborating processes.

Each of these classes then contains three empirically observed phases.

Class 1.

The group forming dynamics of the Hutterite socio-cultural development

The three phases making up this class have two dynamic processes in common.

These processes are:

1.) Selectivity

2.) Build-up of group potential.

Empirically these processes are hard to distinguish. Conceptually, however, a distinction between these processes might be helpful to get at the full dynamics contained in them.

The concept "selectivity" refers to a range of meaningful individual or collective choices which are made by potential or actual group members in terms of potential and actual ideas.

During all three phases falling into this first category, a membership selection leading to the formation of a group is noticeable. Individuals ascribing to the same or similar ideas, convictions, emotions, etc. were sifted out of a larger society through self-selective choices which brought them in contact with each other and made communication possible.

Such self-selective choices took place in the struggle over problems, issues, ideas or emotions. They cannot be seen as representing a mechanical selection leading to a concentration of certain characteristics within a group; but they constitute choices of individuals deeply concerned with the problems and issues that were at stake. Individuals making such choices are active agents taking the data for their choices from the environment but making these choices in terms of their essentially human ability to assign meaning and significance to the data.

Such a decision making individual is placed in the centre of

the ongoing social process where he is faced to choose and to decide on matters which are of concern to him. Individuals involved in this process of self-selection make these problems and ideas a part of themselves and begin to act according to the way in which they have these problems and ideas meaningfully organized for themselves.

That previous ideas prevalent among these individuals as well as existential conditions like social class, etc. play a role in the nature of these choices is without question.

The point is that these self-selective choices are neither induced exclusively by previous ideas nor by existential conditions, but are facilitated or inhibited by such ideas or conditions. These facilitating or inhibiting effects of previous ideas or existential conditions are the result of their meaningful interrelations in a system of larger meanings. (Weltanschauung.)

Such self-selective choices, therefore, represent an act of primary reactivity in the sense in which von Bertalanffy uses the term. It is an act of immanent change according to Sorokin.

Individuals who reflect on themselves as well as on their social and ideological environment; who evaluate themselves in terms of this social and ideological environment and then react back on themselves as well as on this social and ideological environment in terms of their own meaningful selective choices, plant the seed for social change.

Such dynamic self-selectivity of individuals has nothing to

do with restoring an ideological or social equilibrium that was disturbed. It rather represents a process of a particular human quality - the human ability to reflect on and to create out of diverse, unrelated, unintegrated, inconsistent or antagonistic ideological and behavioral elements something new and unique; - the ability to create new human experiences.

Self-selective choices of individuals emerge as group forming processes when these choices are of a collective nature.

Individuals having self-selected themselves according to similar choices are able to influence each other and are able to facilitate their common progress through interaction. The psychological qualities of individuals demonstrated in their selective choices transform themselves into sociological group properties. The group at the time of its conception becomes endowed with an ideological and behavioral potential having its foundation in the nature and content of the self-selective choices that were made by the individuals composing the group. The group in turn is poised to develop this potential in its logical and meaningful dimensions.

The data indicate that such self-selective choices occurred during all three phases leading up to the formation of groups possessing a particular potential for further development and elaboration.

The potentials of the three groups, of course, differed because the selective choices of the individuals involved, as well as the general social and cultural environment in which their choices

were made differed also.

The phase from 1527 to 1535 led to the creation of a new socio-cultural system having a unique ideology and elaborating this ideology in unique social structures. The members forming this group created an entirely new Weltanschauung for themselves.

The potential for this Weltanschauung was created in a general socio-cultural environment which questioned the very foundations of society. As demonstrated in the data, the early Hutterite members were not only concerned with religion or the salvation of their souls. They developed deep seated convictions regarding all aspects of life. Their view on mercantilism, profit, government, labor, urbanism, war, politics, as well as morals, justice, and ethics, etc. emerged as a result of questioning the existing order in its entirety.

The self-selective choices which they made in regard to these many aspects of life invariably led to the establishment of a new world view.

In contrast, the Carinthian group was actively concerned only with a relatively small sector of the social process. They questioned the abuses and alleged falsities of the Catholic Church in their homeland. They had no quarrels with all the other aspects of life. Their self-selective choices were confined to a few areas of life. As a result, the group was unable to develop an ideology of its own. It adopted an ideology which was found to correspond to the religious choices which they had made. However, the logical

implications of having adopted the Hutterite ideology was the re-establishment of the community of goods. This is to say that this re-establishment of the community of goods was not the result of an active struggle of the Carinthian group with the social forces of the day, but it resulted from the chance factor of having come in contact with a religious-ideology that appealed to them.

They adopted the social institutions of the community of goods because the underlying selective dynamics had endowed the group with such a surplus of energy that the social behavioral implications of the Hutterite ideology were carried toward their logical conclusion - the re-establishment of the community of goods.

The self-selective choices during the fourth phase following the events of 1842 were made on an even smaller base. The Hutterite individuals at that time were concerned with their loss of salvation. They had no quarrels with their environment; they did not complain about the social, ethical and moral conditions of their times. They felt quite comfortable under the existing Russian government and its legal system. The religious convictions of their environment and the ethical and moral behavior of the general population was accepted by them as a matter of fact.

As a result, their self-selective choices centred around the one question only of whether or not it was possible to go to heaven without having lived in the community of goods.

The complicated patterns of choices that followed demonstrate the uncertainty and insecurity of individuals in regard to this

question. The fact that communal experiments were made and failed demonstrates the same point.

These people were not on their way to bring the heavens down to earth and make it a part of themselves as the original Hutterites in 1527 certainly did. They were just concerned with the attainment of eternal rewards for themselves. For the original Hutterites the community of goods was the supreme alternative to a world that had lost its meaning in an orgy of abuses. To the Hutterites in 1860 the community of goods was a painful restraint one had to endure in order to attain eternal life.

The content and the extent of the choices that were made by individuals differ extensively during these three phases. As a matter of fact there is little similarity between them at all.

The interesting point is, however, that no matter what kind of self-selective choices were made by these individuals, the groups which were formed by such decision making individuals developed a certain potentiality for action and further elaboration.

This potentiality has two different aspects. In the first instance potentiality refers to an energetic state. Social groups which developed in the way described above are poised for action. They have accumulated through selective choices a social energetic potentiality which is in need of being transformed into some kind of behavior.

Secondly the term potentiality refers to a range of possible forms which such behavior can take. This is not meant to refer to

some form of social determination. The final state of the social development, as Sorokin pointed out, remains indeterministic. The meaning of the term "range of possible forms" refers to future developmental stages which are more likely to be attained by possessing a certain potential in contrast to those future stages which are very unlikely to be realized.

This development of potentiality for action through self-selective choices is tentatively proposed in this paper to constitute an underlying dynamic process in the formation of voluntary groups. (Social movements, and voluntary groups drawing its membership from a larger population.)

The concept of group potential is of greatest importance in sociological theory. Sorokin used the biological analogue of the acorn which can only develop into an oak tree, to demonstrate that a social group is endowed with a certain meaningful potential which it is logically destined to develop in its various possible but limited dimensions. When the social group has realized its potential or loses its potential it also loses its distinction as a social group and either becomes another group or merges with its social environment.

Von Bertalanffy explored the same field by paying attention to "preformistic traits." In the biological realm these preformistic traits are present in an embryo. However, von Bertalanffy points out that the determination of the final biological product depends only in part on these preformistic traits.

He says:

...development is not based upon a distribution of preformed anlagen; instead the determination of embryonic parts toward a definite developmental fate occurs progressively and in dependence on the whole. Development is therefore epigenetic in principle, although preformistic traits are not lacking.

The potentialities postulated in this paper are seen as pre-developmental states, similar to the biological potential of the embryo. Further development of such potential is epipotential in the sense that the future state of development results from the dependency of actual and potential elements in the system on each other and on the whole.

The build-up of potentialities by a social system through selective choices designates a process whereby the system in question puts itself into a position where it is able to decrease its entropy. This is possible by attaining a certain energetic state and by defining in broad outlines the content of development for which this energy is designated.

The energetic potential of a social group is a prerequisite for further development. The "call" of individuals during the first phase and the "spirit of revival" during the third phase designate two such empirical states of social energy potential.

Three times in the history of the Hutterite socio-cultural development was the community of goods either created or re-created. Such creation or re-creation of the community of goods was each time preceded by self-selective choices of individuals leading to the

formation of a group charged with a social energy potential and endowed with a certain content for further development.

There seems to be justification for the tentative claim that such self-selective dynamics represent a fundamental underlying process in the creation of voluntary social groups.

Class 2.

Conclusion regarding the group elaborating processes and the problem of social change.

A considerable amount of data was presented to establish a starting point for analysis. At the end of the social movement phase around 1535 to 1540 the Hutterite socio-cultural group reached a maximum degree of integration. Its members, acting under the energetic conditions of the "call", had created a social system in which the religious-ideological, the social structure and the personality systems were integrated to a maximum degree.

The dominance of this "call" over all other aspects of the social system was demonstrated by showing that structural changes as well as persecution, etc. had little or no influence on this integration.

From this starting point of maximum integration the present analysis will proceed in two directions.

First the fluctuations of the variables for phase one of the Hutterite socio-cultural system will be compared to each other and such comparison be evaluated in terms of the development of the sect

as a whole during this phase.

Secondly a conceptual comparison of the development of phase one with the developments of phase three and five will be made. Such a comparison will include a comparison of inter-relationships between variables characteristic for one or the other phase and will also include a comparison of the whole emergent process in terms of these relationships between variables.

A conceptual comparison, of course, does not imply the claim that these three phases were identical. They certainly were not. The justification for such a conceptual comparison derives from the claim that these three phases, being different in content, nevertheless showed dynamic similarities and dissimilarities.

According to the method in which the data were presented, it is quite clear that those entities which were called "variables" are not simple indivisible units of behavior, but subsystems having a complex empirical appearance. Each of these subsystems, therefore, must be seen of being capable of generating its own factors of immanent change. In accordance with our theoretical position outlined earlier, the division of labor in the Hutterite socio-cultural system, for example, would have changed even if the other variables would have remained constant. Since these variables, however, did not remain constant but changed also, these changes in turn facilitated or inhibited changes in the division of labor.

Multi-variable analysis, therefore, aims at the observation of these ongoing changes in relation to each other and attempts to

relate these observations to the development of the whole socio-cultural system. This procedure is teleological in nature and is proposed in this paper in all modesty. We do not expect to find some grand design of social reality but hope to contribute in some limited way to the understanding of the nature of social reality.

Proceeding from the starting point of maximum integration, the first question that was asked was: In which of the subsystems (variables) did social change in fact occur?

Presenting considerable data to investigate this question we found that the most likely change that could have affected the maximum integration from which we started was a change in the "call" or personality structure of the Hutterite members. This speculative answer was consequently expressed in the first hypothesis which read as follows:

- 1.) the quality of the personality structure in the Hutterite socio-cultural system in terms of the "call" or conversion experience changed as the recruitment of the membership changed from one of conversion into the system to socialization in the system.

The change from the personality structure of the "call" to a socialized individual was immanent to the personality system. We attempted to measure this change by looking at the Hutterite mental productions. The various indicators quite consistently reflected the change from the first to the second generation. The decline of the religious-ideological creativity and the increase in exegetical ritualistic productions which emerged after 1570 support

the content of this first hypothesis. From the data of the first phase the hypothesis can be regarded as verified. However, from the available data regarding the third and the fourth phase no such conclusion is possible.

The religious creativity during these phases was not measurable because the group was ideologically not creative. A great deal of copying went on, but this cannot be confused with a religious creativity. For this reason no direct comparison between the phases can be made in this respect. However, quite suspiciously the changes that occurred during phase three correlate with the disappearance of the first generation also, giving some additional strength to our hypothesis.

The change in the religious-ideological creativity that occurred with the passing of the first generation in phase one was facilitated by the progressing ideological closure of the system. The inflow of new ideas and the struggle with ideological opponents disappeared, withdrawing the possibility from the sect to expand on the potential which the first generation brought into the system. This progressive closure of the religious system led to progressive mechanization of the religious ideology. Such mechanization is clearly demonstrated by the increase in exegetical writings. Empirically the mechanization of the religious-ideology appears in the form of rituals. It proceeds from a free creative interpretation to habitualization and ritualization. In terms of members taking part in this activity the process flows from the participation of many lay

individuals to the specialized participation of a few experts.

This process which was so characteristic for the first phase was even more pronounced for phase three and five. These periods already had their beginnings on a high level of ritualization. What free creativity existed in 1761 was only capable of copying earlier works. The same is true for the beginning of the fifth phase. This indicates that the potential of the members forming these respective groups was not religious ideological in nature at all. They concentrated on the implementation of social institutions in the form of various *Gemeinschaften*. They skipped the creative period of the early Hutterites entirely and proceeded directly to a form of integration that emerged during the first phase after the "call" disappeared.

The change of the religious-ideological creativity of the first phase was facilitated by the "good" period of the sect between 1554 and 1593. The sect in Moravia faced few ideological obstacles; it was not attacked and there was no need for it to defend its ideology. On the whole the sect was not challenged but was ignored ideologically. When the tribulations of war began in 1593 it turned out to be an economic and organizational challenge rather than a religious one.

During the previous decades the sect had re-channeled its creativity from the religious to the economic fields.

The economic concerns of the sect around 1535 to 1540 were only of a secondary nature. They were mainly directed toward two goals,

the physical maintenance of the sect members and the demonstration of religious unity by having material things in common.

However, the various craftsmen who entered the system automatically injected a fairly extensive division of labor into the various settlements. This was taken as a matter of fact and proved to produce no difficulties as long as these members acted under the impact of the "call". However, as the "call" declined, the division of labor suddenly attained an entirely different significance. The religious concerns changed to economic concerns.

When the Hutterite individual lost his ability to integrate himself in the system on the basis of the "call", another form of integration emerged in the form of a bureaucratic integration.

During the first phase this new form of integration was facilitated by a number of factors. The desired contractual relations of the sect with the landowning nobility made uniform guarantees of freedom a necessity. Such uniform freedoms, originally a purely religious concern, however demanded the existence of some central authority. The exercise, supervision and maintenance of these freedoms led to the emergence and a further strengthening of such a bureaucracy. These freedoms were the result of contractual relations conducted by the bureaucracy, and certainly the Hutterite part of the bargain was not provided by their religious-ideology, which remained to be a nuisance for the Catholic as well as Protestant nobility, but by the economic advantages which their presence provided. The existence of the sect in the middle of an otherwise adverse

environment depended on a strong economic bargaining position. The Hutterite bureaucracy in part was produced by these bargaining relations that influenced so greatly the whole existence of the group. But at the same time this bureaucracy realized the nature of the bargaining relations and began to work toward the economic strengthening of the sect by bureaucratic means. To what extent these attempts involved the group in political and economic problems of the country was indicated at several points. Such developments diverted the religious-ideological concerns of the group and transformed them into economic-political ones.

The change from the integration around the "call" to a bureaucratic integration was expressed in the second hypothesis which read:

- 2.) As the personality structure in the Hutterite socio-cultural system changed from a concentration on the whole of the system (principle of integration) to a concentration of the parts of the system, qualitative differentiation, progressive mechanization and centralization in terms of legalistic, contractual and customary relations emerged in the system. Such new relations produced a loss of regulability of the system as a whole.

Since the social system shifted from the religious integration to an integration around economic activities and since this shift resulted in the creation of roles, statuses, etc. associated with definite privileges, and definite forms of behavior, this part of the hypothesis can be regarded as verified.

Centralization within the system emerged in the form of an

effective bureaucracy increasing the regulability of the system. While the part of the hypothesis which refers to the centralization in legalistic terms can be regarded as verified, the loss of regulability at this point did not materialize. Therefore this part of the hypothesis must be rejected.

If the other phases are evaluated in the light of this hypothesis a slightly different picture emerges.

The general economic and political atmosphere in Russia during phase three did not favor the emergence of a strong bureaucracy in the Hutterite sect.

The bargaining necessity where the freedoms of the sect were traded against economic advantages were much less pressing in Russia than in Moravia.

When the sect finally settled in the United States, these same freedoms were part of the legal system of the general society. Only during the First World War was the freedom to refuse military service called into question.

During both of these phases the external conditions were neither extreme enough in their intensity nor continuous enough in their duration to make the emergence of a powerful centralized bureaucracy necessary. The economic bargain which such a bureaucracy had to make and to maintain during the first phase was in no way present to the same degree during the third and fifth phase. As a result the bureaucratic structures that emerged during these later phases were not nearly as effective and as extensive as during

the first phase.

The conclusion is that different external situations during the third and the fifth phase of Hutterite development inhibited the emergence of a bureaucratic integration.

Turning to internal conditions the interplay of various factors during phase one favored the emergence of a bureaucracy. Among these, of course, was first the disappearance of the "call". However, a traditionalization of the Hutterite Gemeinschaft system would have been possible if Hutterites had not maintained such an extensive division of labor. The various occupational branches receiving a rational injection from an equally rational religious system suddenly began to develop according to their own intrinsic demands. Such demands translated themselves into decision making claims and challenges being threatening to the system as a whole.

Two contradictory tendencies emerged at the same time. First the disappearance of the "call" released the Hutterite individual from the psychological restraints which up to this time prevented him from transgressing the ascriptive ties of the community of goods. The individual who attained such psychological freedoms in turn began to work toward the release of communal resources for private pursuits. However, such a release of communal resources would have meant the destruction of the Gemeinschaft.

Secondly in response to this destructive threat the system produced an internal bureaucracy which was able to integrate the various productive branches with the social and religious subparts

of the system.

However, during the first phase this newly found bureaucratic integration attained only a labil existence despite its great effectiveness to save the sect from extinction. The system of sanction and the system of motivation and rewards remained to be based on the integrative powers of the "call". These elements could not be changed without destroying the foundation on which the system rested.

The lability of the bureaucratic integration was noticeable in the progressive loss of social control and the progressive loss of motivation.

The occupational structures which attained correspondingly more freedoms finally proceeded to free the ascriptive ties in the community and opened them for private pursuits.

This development was expressed in the third hypothesis which reads:

- 3.) The Hutterite socio-cultural system discarded the social structure of the community of goods when the concentration of the integrative forces had completely changed from an integration into the whole of the system (the "call" of the individual oriented toward the central principle) to an integration around subsystems or positions. (The pull of the individual toward his job, status, privileges, customary rights, etc.)

The hypothesis in this form cannot be regarded as verified. It was not the change from an integration around the "call" to a bureaucratic integration which caused the disintegration of the

system, but it was the partial change of the system from an integration around the "call" to a bureaucratic integration that caused its downfall. For reasons characteristic to the whole of the Gemeinschaft system, the system of sanctions, motivations and rewards could not be changed into rational bureaucratic forms.

The loss of regulability and disintegration of the system did not occur because of a change from a religious-ideological integration to a bureaucratic integration; but it occurred as a consequence of the system being allowed to change only partially into a bureaucratic direction and remain partially under conditions of a religious-ideological integration.

The system found itself in the unsolvable dilemma of either changing its system of rewards, punishment and motivation in accordance with its legal bureaucratic changes in other subsystems, - which would have caused loss of distinction of the system; or to try to exist as an integratively labil system, deriving one form of integration from the bureaucratic and the other form from the religious ideological factors.

It chose the latter which postponed the disintegrative results but it finally had to succumb to the contradictions which such diverse forms of integration accumulated.

During the third phase the same process appeared in accelerated form because no permanent controlling bureaucracy emerged. No effective attempt was made to establish a bureaucratic integration. The

disappearance of the first dedicated generation was quickly followed by the generation that demanded the release from the ascriptive communal ties.

The disappearance of the "call" during the first phase took several decades, allowing the system enough time to develop a bureaucratic integration.

During the third phase the first dedicated generation disappeared rather suddenly allowing the system no adequate time to develop a bureaucratic authority.

During the fifth phase the external conditions did not favor the emergence of a bureaucracy either. However, a new factor emerged. The sudden and unprecedented expansion of the individual settlements imposed tremendous strains on the system. The external conditions were favorable for such expansion because Hutterites settled in pioneer areas. The great task of the system was to organize internally in such a way as to accommodate the enormous natural increase.

Here we encounter an example of a functional condition where a physical parameter imposes itself on a socio-cultural system in a dominant capacity. The system organizes itself in response to this parameter.

However, it should be remembered that the acceptance of this parameter was a meaningful choice between alternatives. Birth control would have been possible, or the system could have chosen to care for only part of its offspring.

Rising to the challenge of such parameter the system began to organize itself dynamically around its great natural increase. Realizing well that such a dynamic organization was impossible under horse and buggy conditions retained by their Amish brothers, Hutterites introduced modern agricultural technology into their settlements. This development was facilitated by the monolithic division of labor and forces of central financial control in modern business life. The need to meet the parameter forced Hutterites to go modern and the fact that they did go modern produced centralized financial and occupational control in the settlements.

Under conditions where a Hutterite individual today is able to attain a good perception of an individually oriented outside world, the challenge to free the ascriptive ties of the community of goods is potentially present in greater form than during the first phase.

However, such potential challenge is prevented from taking a foothold because such challenge cannot be backed up by economic powers. The monolithic division of labor and the centralized financial control prevents subunits from challenging the group authority successfully.

Moreover the rapid expansion which absorbs the profits of the settlements prevents the creation of a "free" surplus. Any accumulated profit is already purposively allocated. Hutterites consider themselves extremely poor while accumulating great surpluses for expansion.

The rapid expansion at the same time has great motivational and rewarding effects for the Hutterite individual. Expansion means individual mobility, higher status and social and material rewards.

For these reasons the Hutterite individual is turned inward to the group. The system offers him great individual rewards in contrast to the first phase which denied them. Collective restraints in terms of material and physical goods are counterbalanced by selective rewards (sex and age) obtainable by everyone in the system.

The general pace by which the system must proceed in order to meet its requirements for expansion allows for no let up in activities. The members of the sect are keenly aware of the ongoing process, particularly when some settlements which tried to relax in their activities failed to meet these requirements and encountered the dangers of disintegration. The integration of most Hutterite settlements today, therefore, is based on the dynamic interaction of these various factors making for the functional integration around a voluntarily chosen parameter.

Having outlined the reasons and the working dynamics of the phasing of the Hutterite socio-cultural system the question arises: What theoretical postulates regarding social change and social dynamics can be derived from this investigation?

The following principles of systems integration and social change are offered:

- 1.) The problem of integration (centralization) in a socio-cultural system is the problem of pulling together through ideological, bureaucratic (legal) or functional means various social subsystems which possess the potential of pulling apart from each other as well as drawing away from previous forms of integration into the whole, through internal differentiation and progressive mechanization.
- 2.) The kind of integration effective in a socio-cultural system depends on the particular state and content of differentiation and progressive mechanization in and between subsystems, as well as on the nature of the system as a whole. It also depends on the nature of internal and external problems which pose a challenge to the system.
- 3.) Integration means to impose on diverse subsystems having a potential to pull apart an ideological, bureaucratic (legal) or functional principle according to which these subsystems can organize themselves internally and in relation to each other in whole or in part. The completeness or incompleteness of this process designates degrees of integration.
- 4.) Social change is initiated by subsystems which potentially and actually can change (immanently) into directions challenging a previous form of integration. Social change further contains the resulting integrative, creative force of the system as a whole to establish integration on a new plateau of changed subsystems.
- 5.) This process of social change is a multi-interactive process whereby the change potential of subsystems is facilitated or inhibited by the relations of these subsystems to each other and to the integrative whole. The realization of such change potential of subsystems depends on such relationships as much as on the potential itself.
- 6.) The problematic of integration-disintegration depends on the change potential of subsystems as well as their multi-relations among themselves

and in relation to the whole. The particular nature of the subsystems, their respective multi-relations, the relative speed and the relative completeness with which these subsystems are allowed to change determine whether integration or disintegration in a socio-cultural system is more likely to occur.

- 7.) Emergent forms of integration are collective and creative human acts yielding to meaningful criteria. The emergence of such meaningful criteria is synonymous with the emergence of an integrative principle. The imposition of such emergent meaningful criteria on the subsystems creates new forms of integration.
- 8.) Emergent forms of meaningful criteria (integrative principle) are initiated, facilitated or inhibited by immanent changes of subsystems and their relations to each other. But they are not determined by such changes or relations in a summative sense. Rather they constitute the non-summative products of these changes and relations. As such they are quantitatively indeterminate but qualitatively anticipatory.
- 9.) Emergent integrative principles are limited in appearance for any socio-cultural system, depending on the potential of the system and the possible permutation in the interaction patterns of the subsystems. The knowledge of the respective potentials plus the effects of possible interrelationships among subsystems can therefore serve as predictive devices regarding social change and social dynamics.

The above principles plus the postulates on selectivity and potentiality developed in the first section are respectfully presented as products of the theoretical position taken in this paper in combination with the empirical research conducted.

Footnotes - Chapter VII

¹von Bertalanffy, op. cit., Problems of Life, pg. 58

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APPENDIX A

THE HUTTERITE SCHOOL DISCIPLINE OF 1568

Herein are recorded several necessary points which the brethren and sisters who are appointed to supervise the schools, together with their assistants, are to observe in the care and discipline of the youth.

In the first place they must constantly keep in mind that they are appointed over the children by the Lord and by His people.

Further, the school masters and school mothers, since they are the ones who are responsible for the good character of the discipline of the school, are to be peaceful and trustful in their relations one to another. There should be a willingness to assist each other with good advice and to maintain a strict and regular order in all phases of the care of the youth, for to be dutiful and peaceful is conducive to good discipline, while discord and indolence are conducive to disorder.

They shall also take proper care in directing and supervising their assistants according to the adopted discipline.

They shall take care that no disunity, strife, or boisterous speaking is heard by the children, but rather by a peaceful, cheerful, good-natured, and sober life and quiet walk they shall inspire the youth likewise to quiet and sober living and give them a good example.

They should avoid vain and idle words so that the children

shall not have occasion to gossip.

The school masters and sisters shall admonish and ask the boys and girls in their later teens to be diligent in prayer. And it would be well if when the school masters speak with the children once or twice a week, the sisters be present if possible, and thus testify by their example and pattern to their desire to inspire the youth with ideals of piety; the sisters should not absent themselves to go to other places but should give due consideration to the honor of the Lord and the welfare of the youth. Yet the school master should not occupy the time of the children with long preaching and with much reading of many quotations because the children can understand and grasp little.

When one or more children are guilty of something, either of unbecoming conversation or other foolishness, - likewise the girls when they spin, it is ordered that not every sister should at once step in and punish but should take care in the fear of God so that the youth should not be hastily disciplined.

For this reason, in order to be better able to give account before God and man, it is believed best that the sisters should report the matter to the brethren in the school or to the school mother and should not be too severe, seeing that the Lord does not deal with us elder ones always according to our deserts, are according to grace.

The larger boys are to be punished by a school master and not by a sister, but the middle-sized boys may be punished with the

rod by a school mother if the school master is absent and the boy is stubborn and will not submit to the sister's words. But if it is a larger boy, it should be noted and reported to the school master when he comes home.

Likewise the larger girls are to be disciplined by a school mother and not by a brother.

Stealing, lying, and other gross sins, whether done by boys or girls, shall not be dealt with by a sister alone, but shall be disciplined with the approval and advice of a brother.

If punishment with the rod is necessary in the case of a larger boy or girl, it shall be done in the fear of God and with discernment. In case of knavishness, lying, thieving, and unchaste conduct, severity shall be used according to desert. This shall not be done secretly or in a corner, but in the presence of all the children, so that they may learn thereby to have fear of wrongdoing.

The children shall be trained not to resist the rod, but willingly accept punishment. In this way it will be possible to always deal with them in a free manner, more than if they resist, which one shall not and cannot permit them.

A school master shall permit the boys to go out once to the lavatory mornings and evenings, together, and shall himself watch, but shall not refuse the children permission to go out in between times, for the natural processes cannot be controlled by law and it is harmful to obstruct nature too long. The same applies to the girls.

It should also not be difficult for a pious school mother and her assistants to counsel with a brother in the school and to inquire when one wishes to take the children out and let them go home.

Likewise a school master shall have sympathy and co-operation for the sisters and shall yield in matters which do not interfere with the honor of God and good discipline. The bread and meat (sandwiches) may and shall be handed out to the larger children by the school master, except if he does not have time or lacks the food. In that case the school mothers may do this or appoint another sister to do it.

If something special is to be given to the children, such as apples, pears, and other fruit, it shall not be done on the individual decision of anyone, but shall be done on the counsel of several at a proper time. The children's clothing shall not be had in excess; what is necessary shall be kept on hand and be kept clean. The boys' clothing shall be handed out by a brother himself.

The linen cloths shall be in the hands of a school mother and shall be given out by her, but as far as the table cloths for the children are concerned, she shall give it to the table sisters and not to the girls.

The sisters shall exercise diligence that they lift the little children out and into their beds mornings and evenings, and not leave this to the girls so that they themselves may know how the children get in and out of bed. However, the girls may help

them in carrying the children to and from the beds. They shall likewise clean and wash those who are dirty.

In the morning the girls shall be called at five o'clock in winter time to spin. Then at six o'clock the boys are to be awakened and during the time that the latter are clothing, combing, and washing themselves, the smaller children are to be taken out, dressed, and washed, so that they will be quite ready for prayer and be able to sit at the table. Then the babies are to be taken out, dressed, washed, and after they have had a bit of exercise and have been walking about they may be taken to their meals, so that they are not fed at once after awakening from sleep, which is unnatural.

At evenings one should take particular care not to put the children to bed too soon after eating, which is unnatural for them, but to lead them about for a time after the meal or let them run around, small and large, in the winter time until six o'clock, and in the summer time until sunset. And since it is often warm and moist in bed in summer, they shall be allowed to stay up longer at such warm times, but when it is cool they should for this reason be put to bed a little bit earlier.

During the night the nurse (Wächterin) shall take care that the children, both small and great, sleep well and are well covered, so that they may not become cold. Also one of the sisters should help the nurse to watch for a while when the children are going to sleep until the children are all asleep, and the children shall not

be given anything to eat in bed or anything to suck except that a sick child may be given something to drink for his sickness. The children that are well shall be allowed to sleep without interruption for it is unwholesome to be feeding the children night and day. Likewise the sleeping children shall not be forced to arise during the night but shall be allowed to sleep, for if anyone has need, nature will of itself awaken them. But if a boy or a girl has some particular unclean habits, such a one may be awakened in order to be cured of such unclean habits, according to good discipline. If it happens once or twice that someone wets the bed, possibly in a dream, it shall be overlooked, with the hope of improvement, but if it occurs frequently the child shall be punished for the same.

The nurse shall likewise not at once begin to strike the child with the rod if a child begins to cry at night, but shall use other methods to quiet it.

When the innocent little children make the bed unclean they shall be diligently dried and one shall not economize with bed clothing and layettes. They shall not be left to lie because they cannot ask for help or cannot understand. The nurse shall also take good care to notice when a child cries or screams to hold it for a while over the vessel and cover it well so that it should not get cold from being without cover.

But when the little children who have begun to talk, still make a bed unclean, it may be overlooked two or three times and the

children instructed with words, but if this does not help, finally they shall be punished lightly so that they shall learn to keep clean.

But the sisters shall take especial care with the little children, that they be not harsh with them but rather be sympathetic and long-suffering with them on account of their innocence and lack of understanding, just like mothers do with their own children. They shall be concerned in so training the children that they shall be allowed to become self-willed but shall be gradually trained to love the Lord and as soon as they begin to talk they shall be taught to pray at the proper time.

Further, the brethren and sisters in the schools shall take especial care to avoid giving offence by discipline and punishment in the presence of brothers and sisters from other places who come to visit the school and observe the children. They shall be careful in this matter.

The boys and girls shall not be depended upon to take care of the little children either by day or by night, nor to take them up or lay them down, but the sisters shall be careful to be present, especially when the children get up, so that no one shall be injured.

The brethren in the schools have already been instructed by the elders that they shall not manifest wrath toward the children and shall not strike the children on the head with the fist nor with rods, nor shall they strike on the bare limb, but moderately on the proper place. It is necessary to exercise great discretion

and discernment in disciplining children, for often a child can be better trained and corrected and taught by kind words when harshness would be altogether in vain, while another can be overcome by gifts. A third however cannot be disciplined without severity, and does not accept correction. Therefore the exercise of discipline of children requires the fear of God.

One should show sympathy to the little folk who have just started attending school and should not undertake all at once to break the self-will, lest injury come therefrom. For the children who are a bit larger one must also exercise very diligent care so that one can always have a good conscience.

The bed clothing shall be kept clean and shall be regularly changed, and when the little children arise in the morning a sister, or two or three girls, must always be at hand to take care on the stairways that no one falls.

When the children are brought to the school they should be carefully examined and if any one is found to have a contagious disease such as scurvy or French disease (syphilis), the same should be instantly separated from the rest in sleeping and drinking and in particular in washing. Also special brushes and combs shall be used in taking care of the hair of those having skin eruptions. Those who have such eruptions shall be put together and not kept with those who are clean. Likewise those who have head diseases. If a child suffers or receives an injury on account of carelessness of whatever sort it may be, the injury shall not be concealed, but

help and counsel shall be sought as soon as possible before greater injury comes of it.

And when the school mothers examine the children for bad mouths and reach into a bad mouth with the fingers, they shall be careful that they do not at once with unwashed fingers reach into a healthy mouth and thereby contaminate it, but shall always beforehand cleanse the fingers with a clean cloth and water before they examine and cleanse mouths. They shall likewise demonstrate to the sisters with them how to heal scurvy of the mouth, and not withhold this from them that others also may be able to attend to such things if they are appointed for it.

Brushing shall not be turned over to the girls to do.

In the case of diseased heads and bad mouths the school mother shall take especial care, in particular about contagious diseases, and shall arrange for a separation in all matters, as in part already stated, as for instance in the matter of beds, washing, eating, drinking, using spoons and cups, also in the matter of examining the mouth and sitting on stools.

Once a week the clothes of the children shall be examined for lice, likewise the clothes of the children when they come to school. The new children shall have their heads and clothing examined for lice.

When boys and girls are used outside of school for help in tending the cattle or driving the horses, care shall be taken that they do not go astray since they often like to absent themselves or

hide. Therefore they shall appear twice weekly on brushing day.

One should not let the shoes of the children become too hard so that they cause blisters and the parents may have occasion for complaint. Therefore care should also be taken that the clothing and everything else is regularly repaired.

The new children whose parents are still on probation shall not at once be clothed in new clothing, but shall for a time be given the old clothing until their parents have proved themselves worthy members.

The nurses (for sickness) shall diligently stay with the sick children, faithfully care for them, so that no one climbs over the bed or falls on the stairs, and it shall be earnestly impressed upon the mind of the girl in charge that they shall take good care of the children, but shall not be away from them long in case they must leave the bedside.

The food which is to be given to the children they shall not be forced to eat. Drinking shall also be attended to so that drinking is not postponed too long or refused so that the thirst does not become so great that they drink to excess, which is harmful.

And for the sick children especially one should be free to ask the cook for that which they may need; yet this should be done orderly and not each sister run to the cook on her own account, but the request should be made on advice of the school mother.

When children are sick one should not be too severe with them if they ask for this or that, but should in true faithfulness

as unto God be diligent in waiting upon them, in lifting and laying down, in cleaning and washing.

And where there are two schools, the small and the large, the two shall be conducted as though they were one, and not separately. The sisters in the two schools, in whichever they may be, shall be in the proper attitude and love toward each other and shall faithfully assist one another in combing and brushing; in bathing and washing, as is necessary. That is, in everything the children of the two schools, whether sick or well, shall form a unit, and fellowship shall be exercised with open heart, without vanity or selfishness.

If the parents who are visiting a school desire to take their children home to themselves for a visit, permission may be given for a definite time by a school master or school mother, but such permission shall be given with caution in the fear of God as the circumstances dictate, and those in authority shall have a definite understanding as to whither the children have been taken.

They shall also take care in supervising the larger children who serve as bread cutter, water carrier, bedroom maid, sweeper, dish washer, children's maid, sick nurse, etc., since they have often been found to be inconsiderate, mischievous, thieving and frivolous. Wherefore, those who are older shall take diligent care to supervise and watch over them so that no one shall be found guilty of permitting such conduct and have to be disciplined.

Neither brethren nor sisters shall of themselves undertake or order something new without the counsel, knowledge, or will of the elders. Even though someone knows a better method, it shall not be followed without good counsel.

When the sisters go out into the field or into the garden with the children, they shall be careful, as many of them as find it possible, to stay with the children so that the children do not get into trouble. The school master shall also be along as much as possible.

The larger boys or girls should not by any means be allowed to bump or pull or hit the children.

The sisters shall take special care that the small children shall be kept clean.

The sisters shall also not go away to their rooms on their own business too much but the one shall tell the other.

They shall not carry hot water into the rooms so that no one may be injured.

They shall not bathe the children in too hot water for that is harmful.

They shall not let them sit too long on the stools lest they take cold or do themselves harm.

The wash woman shall be careful in making the fire and in heating water and shall not depend too much upon the girl who is helping her.

The night nurse (Wächterin) shall take good care of the light

at night and shall frequently go about among the children to look at them and cover them.

The school mother shall not arrange matters for the sisters or for the girls without the counsel of the school master.

If a child will not keep quiet during the admonition it shall be taken out so that the other children may not become restless, for sometimes one child is itchy, another one thirsty, a third has some other need which one does not know. For this reason it is not possible to bring everything in order by using the rod.

During the day in school one should not attempt to settle everything with blows, but moderation should be used.

Also, no sister shall show disfavor to a child under her care or another child, nor show partiality against one that would prefer not to stay with her.

Neither brothers nor sisters shall show favoritism to particular boys or girls or send them to special places for they soon are overcome by the flattery and become proud.

Likewise the school masters shall not for any reason of their own or on account of business, without the counsel and consent of the elders, seek occasion to be absent from or leave the school. They shall not engage in work outside the school, such as planting or building or working on trifling things and thus neglect their work in the school. They must not by any means go to the markets here and there and buy according to their pleasure but rather they

shall ask for the things they need at the place where these things are provided. They shall not occupy themselves with writing and reading and shall not let others take their place who often deal wrongly with the children out of favor or disfavor but they shall themselves supervise the children.

The sisters likewise shall not look after their own interests whether in sewing and mending or such work and shall not depend too much upon the girls and shall not go about too much outside the building and then when they come into the school accept a complaint from a boy or girl and then without proper consideration proceed to deal out punishment. Therefore we instruct them, faithfully to remain in the school and take care of the children since by such diligence discipline frequently becomes unnecessary and can be avoided.

No one shall unwillingly with complaint or impatience serve the needy ones of the Lord in the schools, for there would be no blessing in such work and the children would in consequence have to suffer from violence and rudeness in discipline. For where good will is lacking, there are often unkind words. Such expressions as these may then be heard: "You bad children; one must be continually occupied with you, one cannot do anything for himself," or similar improper things. By such conduct all who hear it would be grieved and the Lord, who hears all things, will take notice and He will punish it in His time. Therefore each one should willingly and gladly do his part to please the Lord.

It is therefore the appeal of us as elders to all of you who have the youth in charge, brethren and sisters, and especially you who are appointed as school masters and school mothers, that you perform your duties faithfully with all diligence as far as is possible by the grace of God, so that this and similar rules of order shall be observed by you and your assistants faithfully and harmoniously so that in these and other necessary points which would be too long to write and possibly also not necessary, a peaceful discipline may be kept in all your care and supervision of the youth, since you must give an account for the same. May you do it with joy as to the Lord in Heaven who will also be a faithful reward of your diligence.

In conclusion, let each one deal with the children by day and by night as if they were his own, whether in the matter of giving them to eat and drink or taking up or laying down, or leading about or carrying, or cleaning and washing, whatever is necessary, so that each one may be able to give an account before God and may have a conscience void of offense before the godly and the ungodly.

All this which has been here written and told at some length is a pattern of how counsel should be given to those who are concerned with the schools. At times more should be said and at times less, just as is necessary at each place according to the circumstances. By this each one will know how to conduct himself so that the honour of the Lord may be promoted.

The kitchen help and the waiters shall be told that they

shall prepare and distribute with good will the food and drink which has been ordered for the children according to their need whether sick or well, young or old, and they shall not make many words about it.

And if it is necessary to ask for some particular food for a sick child, out of the usual order, they shall avoid using rough words. If what is asked for cannot be given, there should be a clear explanation, so that no one give occasion for complaint to another.

APPENDIX B

THE CHURCH DISCIPLINE OF 1651

Annual exhortation of the faithful brethren

Each elder should gather together all the faithful brethren in his locality, as many as possible. Among those to be called together should be the householder, his assistants, the field boss, the purchaser, the distributor, the manager of the wine cellar, the schoolmaster, other foremen and their helpers as well as trusted brethren in the house, such as the manager of the granary, the miller, gardener and carter. (If there should be a person working at a place some distance away, he should be visited and be made familiar with the essentials of the ordinance.)

The following exhortation should be read to them: Jethro's advice (Exodus 18) proved useful to Moses, the servant of the Lord in the desert, namely that he should look around among all the people for honest men, who are God-fearing, truthful and free of covetousness in order to place them over groups of 1000, over 100, over 50 and over 10, so that they lighten his burden by sharing it with him. If Moses would do what the Lord told him, he would be able to carry out God's plan, and the people of Israel would safely reach their destination.

And thus teaches also Solomon (Prov. 11; 14): "Where there is no counsel, a people fall; but in an abundance of counsellors there is safety."

You and all the faithful have chosen us to be your shepherds

and teachers, and we are charged to watch over the Church of God and take care of it as those who must render account. It is earnestly ordered in the law, that if we see our neighbor's ox or donkey go astray or fall down under their load, we must not leave them, but come to their aid..

If then we are called to do that for an ox or a donkey, how much more must we watch over, care for and admonish the sheep of the Lord, yea the children of God who go astray and whose souls might be hurt.

For if the sheep are lost or have gone astray, the shepherds will be sought out and required to give account.

Yet if someone will not accept warning or rebuke in spite of all diligent attempts, his blood will be on his own head and the shepherds will be found without guilt.

And since we see clearly that many in the community are going astray, are soiling their souls and are getting hurt, we consider ourselves compelled before God to do some serious enquiry, to blow the trumpets, to warn of danger and harm, so that we do not end up a rotten and corrupt people like the Israelites who brought on themselves the wrath of God.

Therefore it is our brotherly wish and desire that you, dear brethren, help us according to your own ability to watch over the Lord's own people, that you might not say "I am not an overseer, householder or appointed brother." No, not that, but that you too carry the burden of responsibility and be always and everywhere a

good example before the people; for a good leader has good followers.

May you and all the brethren, sisters and young people earnestly uphold the Word of God, as it should be, and be decent in everything as it should be.

The sisters should be veiled or wear kerchiefs. There is sometimes much neglect in this. And some give the impression as if they would not care or would not like to practice this any longer. This is the first step toward corruption. As with Adam and Eve, we have the same examples today.

The young ones or everyone able to read should be thoroughly taught the songs, epistles and confessions of the martyred brethren so that our people are more firmly grounded in the articles of faith. If it then should happen that one be imprisoned, or has to give account of his faith that he would know as much about the Lord as he ought to know. We are aware that in such a situation we have nothing left but to trust in the Lord in Heaven. If one of our people would by chance be asked about his faith, there might be some strange answers coming forth.

Out in the world some so-called Christians have special teaching for their children as well as their hired men and women in church on Sundays. How much more should we, the Lord's people, who consider those other groups as false brethren, work toward raising our young in the fear of the Lord, lest we be put to shame by doing the opposite.

All of our youth who are able to read and write should be kept

in practice, lest they forget it. Others should listen faithfully whenever spiritual things are read. Such opportunities should always be encouraged. Yet we find that this is not the case.

Our church regulations should be diligently observed at all times so that sin and lack of discipline, such as illicit relationships, selfishness and other forms of dishonesty, particularly theft, do not remain hidden but come out in the open.

What grieves us especially is the fact that some people among us have their own money. There is buying going on and there is disorder, all founded on greed, which is causing a lot of confusion. There is random buying of all sorts of available items, particularly meat, wine and other food. This in turn leads to undisciplined habits of eating and drinking.

This is the source of much disorder and bitterness. People's appetites are whet so that they run after money early and late and get caught up in a maze of sin, not even realizing that they are thereby losing the treasure of their salvation.

It is a known fact that many formerly esteemed members of the brotherhood have miserably perished and drowned in wine, and have become misfits and an object of shame and of mockery.

We have observed with distress how covetousness (greed) brings forth sin in many forms. People among us cling to their own money, seek their own advantage and get themselves involved in theft, lies and many other vices.

There are also too many cases in which selfishness has lead

through various ways to misuse of the property of the brotherhood. Many no longer deal scrupulously with such items as steel, iron, leather, cloth, linen, flax, wool, in summary all that which is communal property. There are those who seek to improve their own meals with food from the common larder. Later on they say they got these things in an honest way. Instead, they secretly acquired them by stealing, or through various other tricks such as begging, or asking the stewards. The supervisors or foremen are not authorized to give out money; instead, they must try to eliminate this practice and must demonstrate that they keep the money together for the brotherhood. Even though these sinful acts are contrary to our professions and belief, they go on unchallenged like a plant not planted by our Heavenly Father but a weed that must be destroyed.

Because of all this the brotherhood becomes impoverished to an extent that we may have to resort to borrowing money, in fact in some cases we have already done so. Who can now say that it was right for the community to borrow money, while we let its members keep money for their own wine, meat and other selfish purposes?

This will never be right in the sight of God!

What more harmful thoughts could be expressed than to tolerate increasingly the practice that those who have money buy what they wish, eat and drink, and dress as they want to, while the rest without means of their own would have to bear the consequences.

For this very reason some of our people have become so choosy in their eating habits, that they cook their own meals because they

have their own food and no longer eat the food of the community. They are even getting tired of drinking water and prefer wine instead.

All this leads to trouble, loud or silent, and to much unhappiness among those who do not have anything but must watch the rest enjoying themselves. This situation confirms the word of the apostle when he said that the weak brother will perish for whom Christ had died. (Romans 14: 21)

May God spare each believer from becoming such a soul-murderer who kills him whom Christ brought to life by shedding his own blood. "Cursed be he, who misleads a blind man on the road." (Deut. 27)

Remember the "woes" Christ proclaimed (Matt. 13-16), in fact Christ goes even beyond that and speaks still more outspoken and sharper.

Therefore, this is not at all a trifling matter, even though people like to think they have perfectly good reasons for such arguments as "What could be wrong with a glass of wine?" It is not this small item that matters here, it is the fact that law and order have been transgressed. And this is indeed very bad.

Adam and Eve had only eaten an apple. And yet have forfeited both the image of God and paradise and lost the favor of God. What matters is that a transgression has occurred, and not the object through which the transgression came about.

The man of God only ate bread and drank water, not because of

any particular temptation but out of good intentions, and yet he had to die by being devoured by lions.

Esau ate only pottage but by doing so he transgressed the law, he became an outcast unworthy of the blessing and lost his inheritance. During this year we heard of many such examples in our preaching.

We are not dealing here with man-made laws "by which we seduce ourselves by such perverse liberties," as some tell us. Christ the Lord is speaking clearly enough when he says "He who hears you, hears me." Paul speaks of the church as of a (strong) rope and foundation of the truth. Christ tells us to regard those as heathen and publicans who refuse to follow the voice of God's people.

We have the example where the first of the seven sons said to the king: We are ready to die for we have sinned against the Commandments of God and our forefathers. (2nd Book of Maccabees, 7:2) It is not enough, therefore, to claim that this is simply a law made by man. Our brotherhood has rules which we have all acknowledged and willingly accepted. They are based on the Gospels and Christ's teachings. By virtue of these rules we are forbidden to keep money to ourselves, to buy and trade on our own and to look selfishly after our own affairs.

And even though some of our people may retort with the excuse "If I had it as good as you or this or that brother, and if the brotherhood would give me this or that, then I wouldn't need to go after it myself," all should know once and for all that our ordinances were

given by God, by Jesus Christ and by the Apostles. If this offends someone, it does so without reason and to their own harm.

They tell us first of all, we should not claim too much liberty and power for ourselves but conduct ourselves in such a way as not to vex others by honors according to our office (see M.E. III, 698-9) but there are always those who harbor bad feelings against us, as was the case of the Corinthians and the apostle. The apostle had said to them: "When I preached to you the message of the Gospel, I asked nothing in return, and I never became a burden to anyone of you." This remark was not intended to be a compliment but rather a rebuke.

What was thus ordained by God is shown in the words of the Lord to Moses: "The priests and Levites among the children of Israel shall possess no inheritance, but shall eat of the sacrifices to the Lord." And when Joshua distributed the promised land among all the tribes, he gave nothing to the priests but said: "The sacrifice of the Lord your God is their share, as He has promised them, namely the best animals, which are without blemish, oil and wheat flour and the first fruits." - This was their eternal privilege.

Likewise, Christ himself told the apostles what to do when he called them away from their work and sent them out to preach. He said to them: "When you enter a town, market place or house, eat and drink of what they have or what they offer you, for each laborer is worth his keep (food)." This is the reason why he sent them out without money, without sack or bag. And the Jews and the

heathen did the same. Shortly before his death, Jesus asked his disciples: "How often did I send you out without money, without sack or bag? Have you ever lacked anything?" They answered: "Lord, we never did." This is demonstrated quite powerfully when the apostle rebukes the Corinthians, as quoted before.

May these examples serve as answer to those among us who like to accuse us of teaching things we ourselves do not keep, and of being unreasonable in our judgment. Oh, not at all! If these regulations were not ordained by God, if Christ and the Apostles, especially Paul, would not have commanded them, and if the Lord's own (Church) would not have made such provisions one hundred years ago, we ourselves would never dare to set up such requirements, even though they are not as hard as some think.

There are those among our people today who hardly accept our leadership anymore.

Some tell us we should simply give the people what they are entitled to. This may be well meant, but the fact is, we are living in hard times. We have one meager year after the other. We hardly can think of wine and meat but are concerned how to get our daily bread.

Now you will ask, how is it that God sends hunger, want and too rising prices! Who can resist His will? Nevertheless, how can we speak of hunger, if none of us lack the daily bread?

The people of Israel would not have longed for meat as long as they did not have enough bread and water; but as soon as they

grew tired of the bread, they became hungry for meat and other delicacies. But we don't read of any great thirst for wine. The Israelites rather contented themselves for forty years with one kind of food and drink.

From what we can observe today in our brotherhood, people are wearing better clothing and have more things in spite of present hard times, than they ever had back in Moravia. There are many among us who still remember how they had to make ends meet there in all their poverty.

We cannot permit selfishness to rise up again, in spite of such arguments and excuses, and we cannot drop the "Article of the true Christian community (of goods)," on which our whole concept of life is based. For it so many believers fought and witnessed mightily, they proclaimed it with power, for it they were imprisoned, tortured and killed.

Today we sing their songs and read their epistles, and we laud and praise them highly, and yet, we tread under foot their ordinances, their teachings and their wisdom, and we get so far away from all this that they may become our judges at the last day.

The buying and selling in the Temple of Jerusalem must have looked even more respectable because people thought they promote worship in this way. But remember Christ's outrage, and how he drove them out of the Temple!

There is no basis to this buying, to this profit making and pursuit of self interest; nobody has the right to do that, or

anything similar. Nothing but harm and corruption can come of this. Such actions are like baleful thorny thickets, which smother the seed of the divine word and make people forget God, so that there is no more zeal for God left, particularly among the young people. Some of them no longer want to meditate on the Sunday sermons, or on the Scriptures after work. Neither do they want to practice reading and writing. Instead, each one follows his greed, does what he wants, thinking solely about food and drink, about how to get money, and what to use it for. These people lose the treasure of their salvation, and they do not realize how their spiritual light is going out, bit by bit. We are afraid that our youth will stray further from the narrow path, and we will be responsible for it.

It is not enough that we take care of their outward needs; and make them become used to receive their food and drink. From the older people they learn to run after their own money, to buy and to trade. Some parents have already started to give their children money to buy things. Years ago many faithful brethren would have spit out over such a situation. How dare one accustom children to wine and other delicacies, thus enslaving them for the rest of their lives, so that nothing good can become of them. And yet, people think this is all right, and they make fun of the rules of our brotherhood, and allow them to pass with all those practices. If we talk to them about working and about diligence, they speak about eating and drinking. It is, therefore, very urgent to fight

such evil growth.

Yet we do console ourselves with the fact that there are still many faithful, honest people among us who are able to testify that they never did any such trading. Among them are those who were hired out; there are supervisors and others who can name persons and places where they never drank wine in their shops in the last two years, even though there were a good number of people working together. And still all did their work properly.

How is it that all of a sudden people become so undisciplined, unable to do anything unless there is wine around. How is it that they can no longer render each other a service, unless there is a good drop of wine, or wine-money. Preachers and stewards seem to know less about this situation than some of their people.

Therefore, all supervisors are charged to see to it that no harmful weeds can come up which cause all sorts of corruption. They must remember the words of the Apostle in 2.Cor.6, mentioned before.

Those in responsible positions must guard themselves from becoming a nuisance and bad example. Otherwise they will lose their authority. People will no longer listen to them but defy their orders and say: "If you say that, I'll tell the brother what you did."

If the supervisors know of people who have their own money, they must disclose such cases, otherwise the practice cannot be broken. The supervisors must be more concerned to find favor with the Lord in Heaven and to care for the people's salvation and

spiritual growth than to seek other persons' favor.

They must not let their women dominate them or let them deal or quarrel with other people. This will provoke the other sisters.

The supervisors must not give money to anyone, be it sister or brother, relative or friend, neither as a token of their favor nor as an occasional tip. Likewise, the supervisors are not free to buy things for themselves or their families, but must get what they need through the brotherhood. They are not allowed to store material supplies for their trade plus cash in addition.

According to the old ordinance, the supervisor should be questioned about money that was either lent out or borrowed by the people. After the reading of this ordinance, each supervisor must report about this matter to the boss in writing. One should guard against lending and taking in pawns, because the pledges are of little value to the individuals and the whole community. Often a person has wasted much by getting into debt, by lending out money and then trying to collect it. Even though it may look as if he had made a profit, he afterwards got into bad company or lost his good name, took to drinking and cheated our widows and orphans out of their share. According to our ordinance, one has to give an account of one's money dealings every second week.

We have come to the point where we no longer know how to pay for our previous grain (after we have found out how poor we really are). Nevertheless, some supervisors always manage to have a bag

full of money. And then they even dare to say: "This will all belong to the church after I die." A fine thing indeed, to hold back one's contribution until death, or to make others wait that long! This is the way the rich worldling leaves his possessions.

Sometimes it happens that after the death of such a brother the wife and children dirty their hands with this money which was kept back selfishly, and they hold on to it and bring shame and corruption on themselves. A man can set a spiritual trap for his family with his greed. Others like him have caused their own downfall, because they hung their heart on money, became rich and proud, sometimes even left the brotherhood. And after that they had very few happy hours and often came to a miserable end.

We must know how much money has been left within the brotherhood. Therefore, each supervisor must turn in his money, and rid himself of it, since he is held accountable before God and must not burden himself with it. May each one judge for himself whether it is right that some gather treasures for themselves with the money they take in during their daily work, and that they do this at the expense of the community. Likewise, the supervisors are not allowed to lend money to each other in secret. If someone needs something, he should ask for it. If he is considered to need what he asks for, he will get it. If it is not necessary, he should not ask for it.

Whosoever transgresses the ordinance in this respect will be dealt with in all strictness.

Since such dealings are rightly forbidden for supervisors,

(namely to buy what they want) the same goes for the rest of the people, husband and wife, young and old. Those who hold something in trust are therefore not lords over it, but are considered stewards who must render account.

It is thus only fitting that all should be honest. Who cannot be truthful in small and temporal affairs, cannot hope for things eternal. The various offices in the community are therefore created for the care of the people, and not as special honors to those who hold these offices.

The clothmakers and tailors are not allowed to give cloth to our people or to exchange it, but must distribute the material responsibly according to the people's needs. All should make a special effort to be friendly to outside customers, help them with information and be peaceful when they come to us, so that they must not conclude that we are proud, else we are in for persecution and misery. May we continue to find outside-people who are willing to shelter us as in times past. Whatever our work may be, we must do it honestly and faithfully as unto God so that our good reputation which we owe to our forefathers may not be lost. Occasionally we hear things to the contrary. Everyone of us must do his job conscientiously so that the community is not forced to raise prices in order to make out.

Each faithful member must seek truth and honesty in his encounter with all men, high and low.

All supervisors and office-holding brethren must help to

watch out for unchristian greed, so that people do not collect all sorts of things, not knowing at the end what or how much they have accumulated, lest moths and rust corrupt it.

Even though we do not like to talk about these things, it is yet our teaching that each one must rid himself of superfluous goods for the sake of his own conscience.

Windows, doors, locks, bedframes, chairs and benches must remain in the bedrooms. This was always our rule. For various reasons it is forbidden to remove these objects.

The practice of inheritance remains abolished as of old. Clothing and bedding are to be returned to the steward. Only books may be distributed according to our decision.

Householder and distributor must watch diligently that nothing is carried away or disappears and that people afterwards buy it with their money.

Above all everyone should guard against pride. Tailors and seamstresses must abide by their rules. The root of evil lies often in things which are of no good use.

The furrier, hatter, tanner and other craftsmen must not sell items to our people. Rather they should continue to distribute their products according to need without involvement of money. They must not turn their shop into a store. People who do private sewing ("in a little corner") must stop this kind of work. As was resolved earlier, boots for children and school boys are not allowed.

The purchase of wine and meat by the supervisors without previous counseling and authorization is absolutely forbidden. Transgressions will be dealt with in all seriousness. Neither householder, supervisors, cellar boss or distributors may use property of the community to gain personal favors. Such actions have already caused a lot of unhappiness. And yet, these unlawful practices have become so common among some of us that others are sneered at who strive to keep the rules of the community.

Supervisors must see to it that all work is done well and that customers are not cheated out of their money. It has often been said that a brother is known by the quality of his work and by his diligence. The supervisor, therefore, watches diligently over his people, keeps order among them and pays special attention to the young people so that they are at their shops also on Sundays and holidays. Nobody should give them permission to loiter around in the country. This was never allowed.

A supervisor should take his office seriously and carry out his duties with integrity and honesty in order to insure the respect of others and to be the salt among the people, proving that he has not received in vain the trust of his people and the grace of God.

He should make sure that his workers in the shops do not make a habit out of yelling at each other, of calling each other names and of finding fault. Of course, he must not do it himself either, or the people will say: "I never thought the brother would

allow this or do this."

The supervisors should also keep their women folk in check and prevent them from disturbing the peace at the shop or other place of work. The women must not cause annoyance or spend a lot of time with the men in the shops.

Formerly the sisters who carry the water also tended the fire in the shops, such as the cobbler's, taylor's, cooper's, etc. Now it looks as if all the men watch their wives in the shops. And it is often a question of what business the women actually have there or whether they keep their men from working.

Once they have gotten this privilege they begin to stay away from the communal eating place (dining hall). Instead, they do their own cooking or take the food to their place. The older brethren will confirm that we never used to have cooking facilities in the shops before. Today, all these different places want their own supply of coal. This is another cause for disorder and annoyance.

Child discipline must be watched over. Some children get very little of it in school. We must not be too lenient with them or they will bear the consequences for the rest of their lives, with some of them becoming so unruly and mischievous that they are practically good for nothing.

The parents should avoid frequent visits to their bedrooms (living quarters). They should help others to observe these rules. It would not speak well of us if the children of the world had a better reputation than our own.

Therefore, all those in authority must strive to keep order regarding their wives and all the other people - young and old - under their supervision. Let us not ignore the old rules about the upbringing of children, for which our forefathers often paid with their lives. That includes sending the children to school at the proper time. Parents are allowed to keep their children until the age of two, after that period is over, the parents should not wait until they are forced to bring them, as it happens sometimes. It is so much nicer if the children are brought to school voluntarily.

The old ordinance mentions that parents who had to move around were not allowed to take their children along. They were not even allowed to request such a privilege. If the parents gave evidence of having too much fleshly attachment to their children, they were separated from them to insure the proper upbringing of the infants. For we have to fear the Lord that he would punish us for such fleshly weakness. We don't want to be unduly hard in cases of particular need. We see how many of these undisciplined, ill-bred children turn into grown-ups who cause hardships for the brotherhood, some of them even disappear, they turn into good-for-nothings and come to a sad end. We don't want to blame anyone in particular for this.

Some parents may say they don't want to be hard on their small children while they are still with them, assuming that the children will get enough physical punishment once they are in school.

Afterwards these parents are constantly running to school and interfere with the disciplining of their own and other school children. How can the teacher discipline properly, if there are persons present who do not belong in school.

Our people must not unnecessarily walk about in the fields or at other places. This is especially improper before the church service on Sunday. During the sermon one should not open the door for every trivial reason and call this or that brother out of the service unless there is a pressing matter which needs to be taken care of immediately. Look at the world.

All supervisors must keep their eyes on the bread. Nobody should give bread away, be it to beggars or other people. This simply encourages the beggars to roam around more freely on our houses and rooms. If some of us had to look out for himself these days to make a living, we would not handle bread so carelessly. It would not do for him to say "Oh, I still have to pay for that loaf of bread." The same goes for the use of candles. A supervisor can waste a lot of candles, if he is not careful. The people must make an effort to light and to extinguish the candles carefully. The supervisors must be thrifty with the candles and must not give them away.

Our people are again reminded that nobody is allowed to raise his own pigeons, chicks, rabbits, etc.

When an evildoer is being executed in public, our folks should not run to such places to look on. They might experience mockery

there inasmuch as we do not co-operate otherwise with those people.

Brothers and, above all, sisters are not allowed to go to market, except if the brothers have business there.

Witchcraft, magic and fortune-telling, whether pronounced on men or beast, are absolutely forbidden in the community. And anyone knowing about such a case is responsible to make it known. Such practices are banned in both the Old and the New Testament. Banishment and other punishment must be used within the community, otherwise we cannot be God's people.

Whatever disobedience there may be among young or old, it must not be tolerated. There has to be punishment, for the world does not tolerate disobedience either.

When it comes to either a brother or sister, young or old, one should do it with devotion and reverence and must never appear laughing or start gossiping, which makes it rather bad and is not even done by the world.

The brethren should give testimony against sin and wrongdoing before the entire brotherhood. They should witness (to their faith) with zeal and diligence and should not be pushed around to do so. For it is more convincing than the other way round. Such a testimony does not need many words and may be called a real or genuine testimony.

It is a shame that so often transgressions need to be itemized. We are sometimes at a loss of what to think of this.

Afterwards our people gossip about it.

Shunning is not much observed anymore. When we tell our people to avoid those who have fallen away, some of our brethren and sisters defy our orders and tell the apostates who then become our enemies and threaten us. This is an intolerable and sad situation. We are talking here only about those guilty of transgression and we want them to be watched. Most of the apostates have become so because of the appetites of their bellies. They know very well what they hanker after.

How can we trust those (in the brotherhood) who take our way so easy and thus endanger us instead of helping us? In olden days when they noticed that a brother or elder was in danger they would have stepped right in for him.

One should not run around with the people of the world and accept gifts from them. For they expect that these gifts will be paid back, and this is not fitting for a believer. Such relationships have often caused irritation and unhappiness. Many have been led astray through them.

There are supervisors and brethren who live away from the community proper, such as the millers, gardeners and dairymen, etc. Some of these people make brandy all year long, consuming most of it with their relatives. A similar thing happens with lard, flour and other items; they disappear instead of being turned into the community.

There are also some of us here who are too much involved with cattle raising and brandy making. Then the authorities take it all

away and the community gets little or nothing from it.

The people must guard against making debt borrowing or lending money. If they were on their own, they wouldn't do it. Now that they have given all they possess to the Lord, they have even less authority to use money as they wish, for it is not theirs any longer. Each brother should, therefore, turn in what he has to the proper place within the community, so that the needy among us can be taken care of. Let the unbelievers take care of themselves and let not our people lend to them or borrow from them, as it has happened from time to time.

Those of our people who live away from the community should turn in what they produce to the community and they should be content with the usual food, drink and clothing regulations of the community and should not set up for themselves special rules which would alienate them from the rest of our people.

After all, those of our members living on isolated farms, bring their children to our bruderhofs. They also bring their sick and their new mothers, and those older people who can no longer work. This is all as it should be. Therefore they should also faithfully turn in all their possessions.

All those of us in places of authority together with the faithful brethren should handle the community's property while being aware of their own responsibility to God, remembering the needy among our people and especially the young brethren that these may learn from them thrift and not careless wastefulness. Selfishness

and disorderliness must not be tolerated. The sisters should be encouraged to spin and to work diligently.

The householder and his helpers, the field boss and all supervisors in the house and on the farms must encourage the people to go to worship (Lehr) and to set a good example remembering how their forefathers braved rain, snow and flood, night and cold weather to gather for worship:

There is one more word to say to the brethren who serve as night watchmen in the house and at the gates that they should be more aware of the importance and responsibility of their job. Since all our property is entrusted to them and since all our people go to bed knowing that they will be taken care of by these brethren they must do their work well.

The watchmen are privileged — and rightly so — to rest and sleep during the day so that they can keep watch at night, when the rest of our people sleep. The men must be alert to ward off danger. It would be a serious offense if they were found sleeping when something did happen.

The watchmen have authority to forbid any unallowed activities at night, such as secret use of fuel and candlelight, as has happened frequently in the absence of the householder and his helpers. There was also cooking and washing going on during the night, as well as soap making and other unauthorized activity. If the watchmen meet resistance, they must tell it to the supervisors. But if they know of such activities and tolerate them,

the watchmen are subject to discipline, for they are not only the trustees of the whole compound, but of cattle, of fire and light as well.

The gates must be closed promptly and the house locked to keep intruders out during the twilight. When the gates stand open too long, someone may want to carry something out of the house; he may have planned this during the day. From time to time this has happened. If someone comes to the gate after it was closed, the night-watchmen are authorized to ask this person where he had been and what he had been doing so long. If there is something not quite right about it, the watchmen should counsel together, and not keep silent about it.

The night watchmen should also keep an eye on the young people that they do not stay out or run around too long outside the gates, and then by their yelling bother others, be that in the sleeping quarters or in the yard. To avoid unfortunate incidents the watchmen should inform the brethren of disorderly conduct among young or old, such as standing around idly, walking around together, becoming too intimate with one another, etc.

We had people in a house who knew or had seen such behavior but lacked the courage to take proper action, or simply did not care. This is wrong, and such persons are not free of the blame of neglect.

We don't want you to think that we try to make up new regulations. We are simply upholding the old ordinances and all

that for which many of our brave brethren and sisters in the faith have paid with their lives and are resting now in peace.

Therefore, we all must apply ourselves diligently to cleanse the church of God to the best of our God-given ability from those who are useless, so that Jerusalem, the church of God, may be that city where all band together, where all fare well, where all love each other as is testified in the Scriptures; may we also follow the example of the God-fearing Tobias, who even though he was in far away lands did not stray from the path of righteousness.

We hope, therefore, that we will faithfully abide by all that is good, not preferring the favor of man to that of God, even though some of us fear that unbelievers will not appreciate what we say. All that was announced before you today is nothing new. It is in accordance with the Word of God and the laws of our beloved forefathers.

At the same time we would not dare to present to you this ordinance without counsel and divine guidance. May the community of God be cleansed from all ungodliness as Jacob was cleansed, and may our reward be great in Heaven!

As with Abraham, we charge our people to keep the commandments of the Lord to do what is right and acceptable, knowing that the Lord in His mercy will not withhold from us his will, he will reward all believers, punish the unbelievers, and give us eternal life. This is our desire for ourselves and for all true believers

through Jesus Christ, his beloved son, Amen.

We ask all the faithful to remember that we seek nothing hereby, but to praise God, to assure the welfare of the brotherhood and the salvation of each member. We do not want to bring the wrath of God as a punishment on us for our lack of discipline and obedience. The Lord is speaking to us on this subject through his prophet Amos. It says there that the Lord will take up his sword against those who ignore his sacred commandment (Sap. 7). May we also learn from the words of the famous hero Mattathias, who said this to his sons (1 Mak. 2:50, 51): Now therefore, my sons, be ye zealous for the law and give your lives for the covenant of your father; call to remembrance what acts our fathers did in their time; so shall ye receive great honour and everlasting name. And for those who love the laws of God and the ordinances of His people, the brotherhood, and who seek their own souls' salvation, may they give testimony and evidence that they are in agreement with the ordinances of the early Church and our community. May they declare whether they still accept that which they have promised on their knees in the covenant of their baptism, and whether they will return to this discipline and abide by it, and let go of all disorder. We ask that each one speak up and tell us.

The earth is full of sinners. They have transgressed and rendered powerless the eternal covenant (Esdras 24), and therefore the curse will swallow up the earth, for its inhabitants

have sinned. Therefore will they burn, and there will be few who are left.

Those who agree with the church, may they uncover their hearts and declare openly how they stand.

Your speech shall be yes or no. And if someone has a complaint to bring up, he may talk to us alone in confidence.

Source: Zieglschmid 1947: 519-532. A footnote by Zieglschmid states that these regulations were apparently written shortly before October 22, 1651, for they were probably read on that day in the spinning room at Lewar, Slovakia. It can be assumed that Elder Andreas Ehrenpreis (1639-1662) was the author. This discipline is still read periodically in the colonies.
Tr. by Ilse Reist.

APPENDIX C

GEMEINDEORDNUNG OF 1640 (FREELY TRANSLATED)

1.) The managers and officials should see to it that the field workers get to work on time in the morning. The last and slowest should be reminded and shamed as to their slowness.

2.) The supervisors should enforce the workload such that not a week of work is spent on something that could be done in two or three days.

3.) Where this is not being done the office of manager is not conducted in the right way.

Under points 4, 5, 6, and 7 of this ordinance various workloads for threshing, field work, etc. are enumerated.

8.) At the present time we are unable to do this much work despite the fact that we have enough people to do it. They have departed so far from the old norms that we soon do not know what to do about it anymore.

9.) But they remind us what good foodstuff they have eaten in Moravia, why don't they also remind themselves how much work was done in Moravia.

10.) No manager can say that the duties of minor officials are of no concern to him. It is his duty to supervise all of them and be concerned with all matters.

11.) One remembers only too good that the managers at one time have even watched over the fields at night.

12.) The manager should care about the cattle feed in order to bring the cattle through the winter.

13.) The manager should take care that the millers do not waste so much flower ^{our} and grain.

14.) When managers meet they should talk about the welfare of the Gemeinschaft and teach such to the young.

15.) That the lambs might be weaned at the right time; lard should be diligently collected such that this does not need to be bought.

16.) That the managers might spare the craftsmen and use their own people in the fields more effectively.

17.) The sisters who are spinning should be left working as much as possible.

18.) The managers should not use lard from oxens because it is bad for the health of the community.

19.) The managers should not take money from minor officials and make themselves servants of them.

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